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A CATHOLIC HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J.

WITH THIRTEEN MAPS

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INTRODUCTION

WE welcome the rewriting of History, in which the author of this volume is taking a noble share. I do not only mean that new facts are continually being discovered, which make it impossible for any serious history-book to be for long together adequate, though even one new fact may alter our estimate of a whole personality or enterprise, as the discovery of a single document has caused us, lately, to shift our view of Wolfe and of the taking of Quebec.

I mean, rather, that all history is being rewritten in accordance with a principle by now universally, perhaps, admitted, and English history, in particular, by the assistance of another which still requires a great deal more attention.

A generation ago history teachers were few who troubled to do more than hand over fact after fact, date after date, or at most endeavour to indicate the more superficial causes and consequences of this war or that, this or that revolution. Moreover, history-books were cut up into slices, each consisting of the reign of this or that king, regardless of the question whether his accession or his death really had any significance whatsoever, so far as individual or even national life was concerned.

Now, however, it has become almost the fashion to look for undercurrents, massive tides of mood, the pressure of vast invisible forces, which should issue into the ripples of events.

Probably Mr. Chesterton's *History of England* carries this method quite as far forward as it ought to go. I think he has avoided the mention of even a single date!

It has been the author's intention to use this method at least in so far as is just. She takes a dynamic view, and endeavours to reveal the resultants of many forces in all that she relates. The obvious danger in this is, that a writer should start with a theory, and force the facts to fit it.

But the writer is no such Procrustes of an historian; and you have the sense that she has laboured as much as anyone at the sheer facts, has stood back, seen them fall into shape, and proceeded to set them down so that the detail should not only not disguise, but lead us to perceive, the living, moving whole. That this might be achieved, and not only because her history-book has to be a short one, she has eliminated what was not to the point. Her credentials are such, and the *intelligibility of her work* is such, that both before and after reading it we can rest assured that what she has eliminated was what belonged neither to structure nor to vital principle.

Another defect in the older teaching of history was that England was, if not regarded in isolation, at least treated as a sort of hub. The vision was *Anglocentric.* The hand or foot can, of course, be amputated and studied separately; but to understand properly a hand or foot you assuredly must see it working in organic connection with the rest of the human body; and even so, you have not to contemplate the human body as if it were, say, a hand with a trunk, limbs, and head attached to it. We are not underestimating the influence of England; but it remains that she is, or should be, and must be, viewed as an integral part of Europe. The standpoint *must* be European. It is true that at least twice —when the Celtic bishops were for rejecting St. Augustine's mission and at the religious revolution of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—an effort was made to cut England off from the massive and coherent civilization of Europe: the first time it failed; the second attempt to a measure was successful. The book which emphasizes this view is Mr. Belloc's *Europe and the Faith,* and his widest thesis cannot, it would seem, be disputed, however little the correctness of its sectional development may be admitted by many, if not most.

With great circumspection the author advances along this path; and though she never wanders off into general history, she never lets us forget that England is a part of a larger whole, and that by no means just the " Empire."

It is, in particular, satisfactory that this History should have been written by a Catholic who is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society; and by one whose learning is so well guaranteed, who is also a Catholic. We can trust, at last, both the facts and their interpretation. All the impartiality in the world will not suffice without some inner light as well.

Very few moderns, I suppose, are quite sure they know what the ancients thought and felt like; but Miss Wilmot-Buxton, writing about Catholic times, can look through Catholic eyes and understand the evidence.

Finally, even if her book is not, alas! so richly illustrated as (we are convinced) all history-books should be, her vivid literary illustration compensates for that, and you feel you are moving, not about a book, but about a world.

At a moment when European civilization seems to be collapsing, we may at least be grateful for the chance to see what we have had and may be losing.

C. C. MARTINDALE.

OXFORD.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

THIS book is arranged, not on the chronological method, but on that of grouping important movements, so that they can be traced, in cause and event, throughout a considerable period. At the beginning of each period a bird's-eye glance is taken over the whole, in order to get these movements into right perspective; and a brief preliminary explanation is given of contemporary foreign history when the latter in any way touches that of Britain. Without going into great detail in the matters of wars and constitutional changes, the main ideas underlying them, their causes, aims, and the degree of success to which they attained, are carefully studied; and in every period the social condition of the people is closely connected with their political history. Leading ideas, rather than unimportant facts, are emphasized; wide surveys rather than petty details are given; and the notion of development has been worked out from first to last.

The standard of the book is about the level of the knowledge required for the School Leaving Certificate, and is suitable for the Middle and Upper Classes of Secondary Schools.

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A CATHOLIC HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

THE PERIOD OF BEGINNINGS

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN CIVILIZATION IN BRITAIN—ITS LOSS AND RECOVERY—THE FIRST SEVEN CENTURIES

(A.D. 100–800)

THE first century of the Christian Era is memorable in the story of Great Britain as being the period in which this country first entered into the Unity of Europe by becoming a province of the Roman Empire.

General Survey of the First Seven Centuries.—Taking this event as our starting-point, we may look down the vista of the first seven centuries and note the landmarks in the way.

The first three centuries are highly important, since they saw the events that changed Britain from a barren, uncultivated land of woods and swamps into a civilized province of Rome, taking her share in the thought, the commerce, the life, of the rest of Europe. Great roads and fine bridges opened up every part of the country. London rose as a walled city and a famous port; and every town whose name has the suffix -cester or -chester, together with most of those ending in -ford, dates from this period. Some of the remains of these towns, their walls, their pavements, or the implements used by their inhabitants—vases, bottles, hairpins, coins—are still in existence; and many which have no such remains also undoubtedly belong to Roman Britain.

Moreover, during this period, though probably to an incomplete degree, Britain received the true Faith. After these first four centuries, at a time when the central government of the Empire was collapsing, the recall of the regular troops to another part of the Empire left this land at the mercy of

certain hordes of pirates and raiders, barbarians from Ireland and Scotland and ravagers from beyond the sea. From the middle of the fifth century, for rather more than a century and a half, there is a blank in our island story, in which one thing only can be distinguished. The fact that the raiders made settlements on the South and East Coasts had the effect of cutting the links between Britain and the rest of the Roman Empire between the years, roughly speaking, 447-597, although certain features of Roman organization remained.

At the end of the sixth century Roman civilization returned with St. Augustine and his missionaries by way of these South and East Coast settlements, and gradually spread over the whole of Britain save the extreme West and North-West.

During the next two centuries, the seventh and eighth, we shall trace this return of Latin civilization and its effect upon the development of Britain. The political result of this we shall see as the gradual shaping of a nation out of a chaotic medley of petty states. The social result was not only the bringing of a horde of pagan barbarians into the Catholic Church and subjecting them to the many-sided influences of Catholic Christendom, but the return of Britain to the Unity of Europe.

§ 1. **Roman Britain,** A.D 41–410.—Of the original Celts or Brythones, who gave this land the name of Britain, we know little. In 55 B.C., when Rome was throwing out tentacles of empire in all directions, Julius Cæsar, her most famous general, visited this country, landed a few troops, and frightened a few native chieftains into a kind of submission. This was not a conquest, and it was not until the year A.D. 41 that Britain was seriously attacked, and after four years of hard fighting annexed to the Empire as a province of Rome.

The condition of the Northern aborigines during the military expeditions of the Emperor Severus in the beginning of the third century is thus described by a contemporary historian:[1]

" They dwell upon barren, uncultivated mountains, or in desert, marshy plains, where they have neither walls nor towns nor manured fields, but feed upon the milk of their flocks, or what they get by hunting, and wild fruits. They never eat fish, though they have great plenty of them. They have no houses, but tents, where they live naked. . . . Their chief employment is thieving. They fight upon chariots, and

[1] Dion Cassius' *History*.

their horses are low but swift. They have great agility of body and tread very surely. They are accustomed to fatigue, hunger, and cold . . . and can live for several days without food."

Though this picture refers to the Northern Celts and may be exaggerated by the natural contempt of the conquering race for an uncivilized people, the condition of the whole land, swampy and densely wooded in the valleys and "wealds," was correctly described; hence, the first important step in civilization for Britain was taken when the great military roads, which always appeared in the wake of Roman progress, began to open up the country. From the Roman camp at Londinium (London) passed the Ermine Street to the North, the Watling Street to the North-West and South-East, the Bath Road to the West, the Fosse Way across country from East to West; and though the primary purpose of these roads was to enforce the *Pax Romana* by establishing rapid communication between camp and camp, they brought the message of civilization with them to parts of the country hitherto cut off. Over the tops of hills and ridges they passed, avoiding the marsh and forest of the lower regions, straight and uncompromising as their builders; and by them travelled not only the Roman soldier, but the rich merchant of Gaul or Italy, who built his "villa" or country house alongside, and brought some measure of trade prosperity to a country hitherto known chiefly as a market for "slaves and hunting dogs." The effect of this was soon seen on the condition of the aborigines, at any rate in the South.

Tacitus, writing during the first century of Roman rule, after telling us that Agricola gave "private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice, and dwelling-houses," adds that "he likewise provided a liberal education for the sons of their chiefs, and showed such a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls, that they who lately disdained the tongue of Rome now coveted its eloquence."

Later, when the Roman camps had developed into walled towns, such as Lancaster, Exeter, Chichester, and had become the homes of civilization; when the great walls of Hadrian and Antoninus had hindered the marauding Picts of the North from harassing the land, the Roman Peace was given to Britain in more than one sense of the word. For now the Catholic

Church, which, by the early part of the third century, was a very definite system within the Roman State, first struck its roots in British soil.

The British Church.—Whether the Faith came through the close commercial intercourse between Southern Britain and the Roman province of Gaul, or more directly by means of soldier converts from Rome or the East, is quite uncertain. But we know that early in the third century Christians, such as Tertullian and Origen, wrote of "places in Britain inaccessible to the Roman, but subject to Christ," and of "British people under the influence of Christ"; and that by the year A.D. 300 churches had been built in Britain. The persecution of Diocletian at the end of the third century seems not to have affected personally the British converts; but by the order of the proconsul, Constantius, many churches were destroyed during this period. To these days belongs also the story of our first martyr, St. Alban, the victim either of an earlier persecution in 286, or of a sudden popular outbreak against the new Faith. But such events as martyrdom only served to water the seed sown by the Church. At councils held at Arles and Ariminum in Gaul, during the first half of the fourth century, British bishops were present; and during the second half, St. Ninian in Scotland and St. Patrick in Ireland were busy in the work of conversion. Ireland, indeed, seems to have possessed at this period a civilization of her own apart from that of the Roman Empire. With the latter she first came into touch when she accepted the Faith of the Catholic Church—a singular instance of a nation outside the Empire, which yet accepted without hesitation a system of religion which belonged to that Empire, and held to it, henceforward, without once falling away.

We see, then, that by the early part of the fifth century Britain had become a part of the great Roman Empire, had received her civilization from Rome, and to some extent, at least, had also received the Faith of the Catholic Church.

Now during this period certain changes had been taking place within the Empire of which Britain was now a province. Owing partly to her vast extent, and also to the distance of her provinces from the central seat of government, the vigorous organization of Rome had gradually weakened. Instead of a local government, under consuls directly responsible to the capital, independent rulers, all of them military, began to

make themselves felt in the various provinces, and to break away from the central power. The armies which "policed" her borders, and who were by this time largely recruited from the "barbarians" whose territory Rome had conquered, on occasion revolted under such leaders as these, attacked cities and cultivated lands, and afterwards settled down upon the latter as citizens of the Empire. Sometimes leaders and generals quarrelled among themselves, and called in barbarian bands of robbers to their aid. As a general rule, these raids and invasions were crushed by the regular armies of Rome. Sometimes, as in the case of Alaric, a good example of a Roman officer of Gothic birth in charge of Gothic "auxiliary" forces, the military official himself mutinied, advanced against Rome, pillaged the city, and then dispersed his troops. There was no actual conquest of Rome; but there was a very marked weakening of her Empire, due partly to these raids and partly to her own internal decay; and it was the necessity for calling in troops, from distant and more peaceful provinces to less settled parts of Europe, that led to the recall of some, at least, of her regular forces from Britain after the year 410.

Now, as to what happened to this country, in consequence, during the next century and a half, we have so little evidence that history here becomes almost a blank. Nothing was recorded at all for a hundred years, and then we get, in the book of a monk of Western Britain, named Gildas, who could only speak from hearsay, until the year 500 or thereabouts, a very vague mention of certain events. From these various scraps of evidence we may, with difficulty, piece together the following facts:

Years before the Roman soldiers left Britain a certain number of newcomers, either pirates or peaceful immigrants, had made a number of little settlements on the coast of South-West Britain, which was known for that reason as the "Saxon Shore." Hence, when this country began to be seriously harassed by savage raiders, such as the "Picts," or Painted Men, from the Scottish Highlands, the Britons hired these settlers and others from across the North Sea as "auxiliaries" to fight against them. Then, as was so often the case, these foreign soldiers mutinied for higher pay, and taking advantage of their position, ravaged and plundered the land till, as Gildas puts it, "the flames of the tumult licked the Western ocean." This seems a very exaggerated statement, however, for he had

already mentioned their numbers as "three boatloads": though he adds, "more numerous companies followed." The most important point of his testimony is that these invaders were utterly defeated at Mount Badon, in the year 501, and that for the next forty-four years there was no more fighting. There was apparently no destruction of the Roman-British civilization, or any further struggle between the barbarians and the Britons as a race.

Meantime, however, during the first half of the sixth century, these overseas pirates had become regular settlers, with small states mostly on the East Coast, and later, all along the shore of the North Sea, and round Southampton Water. Compared with the original inhabitants their number was small, and it is difficult to believe that they destroyed to any extent the cities or the civilization of Britain. But their real importance lies here: by their restlessness, their harassing raids upon the Britons and upon one another, as well as by their heathen "atmosphere," they hastened the decay of the old order of things; and by their position on the coast nearest to the Roman province of Gaul they cut the line of communication with the Empire. Hence, with no idea of a complete conquest of Britain, these Anglo-Saxons, as much later they were called, profoundly affected the country for a limited period.

By the year 597, then, the land was broken up into a number of little districts, each under its petty chieftain, or king. There were Jutes on the coast of Kent and for about a day's march inland. There were Saxons on the coast of Sussex round about Southampton Water, the mouth of the Hampshire Avon, and north of the Thames in Essex. There were more extensive settlements of Angles all along the East Coast from East Anglia to Northumberland and in the Lothians.

In the Midlands there was a mixture of races, forming a sort of barrier, or *mark*-land—*Mercia*—between the coast-dwellers and the Westerners. These last, the Celts, secure among their Welsh mountains, kept themselves apart from the Teutonic settlers on the East and South, holding still to the Catholic Faith in a vague and stunted form, since they were completely out of touch with the central organization of the Church.

Thus, by the end of the sixth century, the Roman civilization, so far as that stood for government, law, and order, had practically vanished. The Faith, too, had almost disappeared, and, save in the extreme West, the arts of reading and writing.

Commerce with Europe scarcely existed, except, to a small extent, between Dover and Gaul. The country seems to have spent its energy in constant petty wars between tribe and tribe, and was without cohesion or settled boundaries. The towns remained. Some, such as Pevensey, dwindled in size, others, such as Cambridge, increased on account of the settlements of the barbarians outside them; and with these one other legacy of the Empire may be noted. The "institutions" brought in by the newcomers—the organization of the land into "hundreds," the *Witans*, or meetings of armed men to discuss public affairs, the *wergild*, or money compensation for injuries—were at that period part of the ordinary life of Europe, though disguised under other names; and with them we may class the "imperial" measurements, of land, of length and weight, which were used by original inhabitants and newcomers alike.

The tribal spirit was the strongest characteristic of the immigrants, strong enough to keep them, save for a certain amount of trade between Kent and Gaul, apart from the civilized world. But even in these early days they possessed a primitive form of literature in the shape of the "Saga" or hero-romance, which gives a vivid picture of their daily life.

The *Beowulf* epic shows us the community, warrior thegns and "hearth-companions," gathered in the chieftains' Hall of Heorot, a "mead-house greater than the children of men had ever seen"; or in wooden huts, with their womenfolk in "bowers" and their serfs in sheds side by side with the cattle. The whole formed a camp, surrounded by a "mark," or boundary line, its centre the Hall, "long and towered aloft," large enough to hold the whole warrior band when it "made joyaunce" every night with the swing of the harp and minstrel song. There, too, being mighty drinkers and trenchermen, they ate and drank at the table of their lord, restrained only by the presence of his lady, who handed the beaker from the elder to the younger thegns, and left for her bower before the real orgy began. The honour shown to women, unheard of among the Hunnish horde which were then appearing in Europe, was remarkable among these "Gothic" invaders, and again marks the influence of the Empire upon them before ever they landed in Britain.

A very early fragment shows us a woman as peace-weaver. In order to end the feud between two tribes, Freawara, daughter of Hrothgar the Dane, was given in marriage to the

son of a rival princeling. "The company was full of joy . . . the proud lady, bond of peace to the nations, walked down the hall, bade the young men do their duty, often gave a well-wrought necklace ere she returned to her seat." But the blood-feud remained strong; and when she entered her husband's hall, attended by her young brother, an old grey swordsman bitterly resented the latter's presence—"the son of a Dane, in pride of spoil, pacing the hall in triumph of the slaying of my lord's father"; and the old sore broke out again in blood-stain and conflict.

Always we see in these poems the close personal tie between lord and follower. When the thegns are torn from the hearth by the monster Grendel, Hrothgar is overwhelmed with "thegn-sorrow." "The gods know," cries a youth, seeing his lord in sore distress, "I had rather my body be swallowed up by these flames than live without my Gold-giver."

Outside this family tie of loyalty and affection we find a spirit of hospitality to strangers that marks a generous and simple-hearted race. And this characteristic it was that made the next great step in the progress of the newly settled country a comparatively simple matter.

The Conversion of England (A.D. 597).—The religion of these Anglo-Saxon tribes was a vague nature-worship, marked by a dread of darkness and night and of unknown regions peopled by them with dragons and monsters, and by a love of the sea, to which they entrusted the dead bodies of their chieftains in ships laden with armour and treasure. They had a horror of stone-built towns or churches, which they believed to be the haunts of evil spirits, and traps for wild-hearted warriors. So they camped outside the former and left the latter to fall to ruin; but they built many wooden temples to Woden or to the Moon goddess, to Eostra, goddess of the Dawn, or to Thor, the god of Thunder. Over all their beliefs hung the shadow of the *Wyrd* or Fate that "hurries men blindly along the path she marks for them"; but of a future life they knew nothing.

It was at the end of the sixth century that the event occurred which brought this isolated and forgotten country back to the Roman civilization, and to the Church in whose hands that civilization lay. During these past two centuries of disruption and gradual settlement, while Rome was being harassed by hostile forces, a new and spiritual Empire had strongly developed,

with the Papal City as its centre and the Bishop of Rome as its Head. It may have been the sight of little English slaves in the market-place that first roused Pope Gregory the Great to immediate action with regard to this country; but behind that was the strong desire to make the borders of Christendom at least as wide as those of the Roman Empire in her best days. The message of the Gospel might have come from Frankish Gaul, "the eldest daughter of the Church," which had never ceased to have trade communication with Kent; but instead it came straight from the seat of the Papacy. Elsewhere it had come gradually, under the quiet influence of social life; or, as again in the case of Gaul, under the stress of political needs, to gain the alliance of the most weighty power in the mediæval world. But in England it came at one great epoch, and straight from the heart of Christendom; and the only political influence traceable was the natural respect of Ethelbert, "king" or chieftain of Kent, for messengers who came from an Empire whose fame was worldwide.

"It has come to us that the race of the English desires with yearning to be turned to the faith of Christ, but that the [Gaulish] bishops in their neighbourhood are negligent," wrote Gregory to the Frankish rulers, as he sent forth Augustine and his band of missionaries. The moment was propitious, for Ethelbert of Kent had married Bertha, a Christian princess of Gaul, and her confessor, Lindhart, was already in Canterbury. After a brief hesitation, due to dread of magic practices, which made him insist on receiving the newcomers in the open air, Ethelbert was baptized in the ruined British Church of St. Martin at Canterbury. The strong tie between chieftain and warriors accounts for the rapid conversion of the Kentish tribes; and in an astonishingly short time Canterbury had become a great Christian centre, with at least two monasteries —one, Christ Church, "the Mother Church of England"; the other, St. Augustine's, built outside the walls; and twelve bishops were consecrated with Augustine to act under him in the work of conversion.

The Celtic Church.—Then came a sudden hitch. The Celtic Church in Wales, which had never lost the Faith, but was by this time completely out of touch with the rest of Christendom, was jealous of her own independence. She would not accept Augustine's three conditions: the keeping of Easter at the same date as Rome kept it, the use of the Roman rite in bap-

tism, the joint fellowship in missions to the English. No doubt the Celtic bishops resented also the strict ideas of discipline, the lack of sympathy, the love of system characteristic of one "whose personality has been overshadowed by his work." They kept aloof, and Augustine turned from them to the conversion of England through the Teutonic tribes on the lines laid down by Rome. Wonderfully patient and wise was the advice that came from the Chair of Peter. "They have taken away the ancient worship and no one knows how the new is to be performed," the pagan English had lamented; and the Pope urged in reply that the heathen temples be not destroyed but consecrated; that sacrifices be not forbidden, but made to the true God; that their feasts and ceremonies be connected with festivals of the Catholic Church. So the boar's head and yule log and mistletoe still appeared at Christmastide, and the midsummer fires were kindled yet on the Eve of St. John.

We have seen how, to a very large extent, the old British population remained, unconquered, in the land, and we very naturally wonder why, in that case, the language of the greater part of Britain did not remain Celtic, as in Wales. The reason has been already hinted at. When St. Augustine brought back the Faith—and with it civilization—to Kent, a similar missionary effort, Celtic and Irish in origin, was going on in the North. It failed to make any wide appeal, simply because it was isolated from Europe itself, and had nothing behind it. But this was not the only chance for the Celtic Church.

As we have seen, St. Augustine had made a strong appeal to the native British Bishops to help in the conversion of the heathen settlements on the East and South. Their refusal forced him to turn back to the Teutonic tribes, and to use them, their traditions, their arms, and above all their languages, as his channel. Hence the Anglo-Saxon dialects became identified with a Church rapidly becoming "official" and organized; and the advance of Roman civilization proceeded westward over the island in a Teutonic disguise, through the same barbarian settlements which had formerly cut off Britain from that identical civilization.

The Growth of Unity.—Naturally, then, when we come to the gradual merging of these scattered settlements into one "England," we shall expect to find that the main instrument which drew them together was the Catholic Church.

Kent stood at first in the foreground, and her chieftain, one of the earliest English converts to the Faith, was also the first to put forth a code, though a primitive code, of law after the Roman manner. The close connection of the poets of Kent with Gaul, the frequent passing to and fro of bishops and monks and priests between Canterbury and Rome, also helped to make her pre-eminent at first. But the pagan element was still strong, and when the striking personality of St. Augustine was removed, Kent fell away. East Anglia, under her influence, followed suit, though not so completely. It became no uncommon thing to find pagan and Christian celebrating heathen rites and the Sacrifice of the Mass in the same church.

In the North, Ethelfrith, the pagan king of Northumbria, now stood forth as the champion of heathendom. His conquest of the allied Scots and Britons at Chester (616) had won him much renown, for its effect was to separate the Welsh Celts from their kinsmen in Cumberland, and hence to rid the Northern province from fear of their attacks. The death of Ethelfrith in a petty quarrel with the King of East Anglia put in his place a chieftain who was by no means hostile to the Christian Faith. Edwin of Northumbria had married Ethelburga, the Christian daughter of the Kentish chief. On the night their daughter, Eanfleda, was born, a determined attempt on the part of the Wessex chieftain to assassinate Edwin was foiled by the devotion of Lilla, his thegn. The child was the first Northumbrian to receive Christian baptism, and the king vowed to accept the rite himself if he defeated his Wessex foe. It was a pagan bargain, made in the spirit of the pagan gods; but Edwin kept his word and was baptized by the queen's confessor, Paulinus, in a little wooden church at York, replaced by him in later days by one of stone. His thegns, led by Coifi, the destroyer of the temple at Goodmanham, hastened to follow his example; even the old "wise men" of his council, accustomed to look upon life as the passage of a bird in winter-time through a dim hall, coming from they knew not where, and passing they knew not whither, were glad to accept the new Faith. Throughout Northumbria Paulinus passed, preaching his message; and with him travelled, probably as interpreter, one James the Deacon, "who was very skilful in song, and taught men to sing in the Rome or Canterbury way."

At once we see the effect upon the Northern province. "In the days of Edwin," says the record, "so great was the peace that a woman with a child at her breast might pass from sea to sea without hurt." Another touch, small but significant, shows us the cups of brass which the king hung on posts by the wayside for the use of travellers. Rapidly Northumbria advanced, aided perhaps by its own spirit of unity. For the Angles of the North differed from the other invaders, as we have seen, in having crossed the sea with their wives and families in complete tribes, and had not therefore to overcome the racial antagonism of mixed peoples. In other parts of the island, intermarriage with British women had produced by this time a people of mingled origin, though probably the old spirit of antagonism between Celt and Teuton still survived. Moreover, as was the case in East Anglia, the missionaries who came to convert them were also of very various race and language. The Burgundian Felix, who built a "church and school after the manner of Kent" at Dunwich, and the Irish Fursey, a monk of strangely restless spirit and mystic mind, who left the East Anglians for the more congenial soil of Frankish Gaul, had much to overcome in the way of racial prejudice before they could claim a hearing.

Yet, in spite of his advantages, Edwin of Northumbria could not hold the position of pre-eminence among the seven provinces. A fierce rival appeared in Penda, the Mercian chief, who, in the first half of the seventh century (633), slew Edwin, harried his land, and within a short time reduced it to a state of heathen darkness "hurtful to all good men." A year later, however, the land awoke to a more thorough and permanent conversion under Oswald, son of Ethelfrid, with the aid of Aidan, a Celtic monk from Iona. Defeating the hosts of Cadwalla, the Celtic ally of Penda, at Heavenfield, Oswald gave peace to Northumbria, and the petty chieftains conquered by the Mercian chief gladly made their allegiance to him. For a while Mercia, like Sussex in the South, remained an isolated pagan kingdom in the midst of allied Christian states. Then Oswy of Northumbria scattered the Mercian hosts and killed Penda, "on whose death the Mercians, being then freed, rejoiced with their king to serve the true king Christ."

For a while Northumbria remained the leading province, though her "king" never succeeded in making himself overlord of England. The one hope of unity lay in the cohesion or

"oneness" of the various Christian missions, scattered throughout the land, and that was now seriously threatened by the fact that the Celtic Church customs, taught by the followers of St. Aidan and St. Patrick, were coming into direct collision with the order followed by Rome. The date at which Easter was celebrated does not seem nowadays a very important matter, but conflicting ideas on the subject seemed likely to cleave the newly founded Church in twain. The question really became the touchstone of obedience to the Roman pontiff; and at the Synod held at Whitby (664) the thunderings of Abbot Wilfrid of Ripon carried the day against the arguments of the Celtic bishops, and the Church was saved from schism.

A few years later, the great twin monastery for monks and nuns, ruled by the Abbess Hild, where this Synod was held, again becomes memorable in history. A common literature draws all men together, and there, while outside its walls England still strove in disunion towards unity, lived and dreamed the herdsman Cædmon, first of a long line of makers of religious poetry. "After him," says Bede, "many others among the Angle folk began to make holy poems, but not one of them could do so as well as he; for he had learnt the craft not from man, but by the gift of God."

Northumbria in those days, then, and throughout the greater part of the seventh century, showed a distinct advance in civilization. Influenced by Celtic Iona, the home of St. Columba, in the North, by Canterbury from the South, we see the fruits of both in the work of the Venerable Bede, himself the product of the famous Benedictine Abbey of Jarrow in Northumbria, during the first part of the eighth century. His *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* is still the main authority for this "period of beginnings," and is written in a Latin style as scholarly as his facts are reliable.

The actual title of Bede's great work, however, hints at a unity that was as yet far from being an established fact. But the ground was fast being prepared for such a condition. The larger outlook, the wider knowledge of the world, the common interests of work as seen in the spiritual and intellectual labours of the monasteries, all tended to draw together the tribal divisions. With no surprise we now hear of a Northumbrian prince building a retreat "in hills steep and remote" for Cedd, Bishop of Essex, and formerly a missionary

to Mercia; or of Oswy of Northumberland and Egbert of Kent together making choice of a Canterbury monk to be Archbishop of Canterbury. More striking still is the story of Wilfrid, Abbot of Ripon and ex-Bishop of York, who devoted himself to the conversion of Sussex, the most southerly and the most backward of the seven provinces. Wilfrid himself was typical of the new generation now growing up in England—a priest of noble birth, pupil at Lindisfarne, but educated finally at Lyons, knowing Rome well, constantly travelling thither, loving Continental customs and inclined to despise what was "insular." We see him insisting on consecration at the hands of Frankish bishops in days when one of the latter had lately been driven from Wessex, because its king was "weary of his barbarous speech." We see him vigorously at work at Ripon and in Mercia, in Kent and in Sussex, teaching the Benedictine rule, Church music, and her crafts of painting and writing to north and south alike. We see him insisting at Whitby on the order and discipline of Rome, and in every way impressing the fact that the Church in England was a part of Catholic Christendom.

In 664 the Synod of Whitby had shown the need and desire of union; the appointment of Archbishop Theodore four years later was now to point the way to its accomplishment. This Theodore of Tarsus, an energetic monk, full of zeal for the well-ordered discipline of Rome, was the first to reorganize the whole Church in England upon a "centralized system," that made all the scattered missions subject to Canterbury, while dividing them into separate dioceses, ruled by their own bishops. The number of bishops and clergy was increased, and though the growth of "parishes" was slow enough, such as were now formed were served by little bands of priests living together in a "minster"—a group of monastic cells whose name still marks such sites as Southminster, Westminster, Kidderminster—from whence a whole district was worked.

Thus Theodore, by bringing order into a land whose weakness was still lack of organization, prepared the way for future unity. His "National Assembly" at Hertford in 673, the first to be attended by clerics who represented not tribal divisions but the Church as a whole, struck the note we shall hear of later in the English Witan, or assembly of armed men, of a national instead of a tribal assembly.

By his insistence on binding down this country to Roman ideals and culture he saved her civilization and kept her in touch with the wider life of Catholic Europe.

The only province Theodore left untouched was Wessex, destined in future days to be the central governing power of the petty states.

Throughout the latter half of the eighth century Mercia, ruled by a particularly energetic chieftain, named Offa, had put forth a vague claim to supremacy. East Anglia, Essex, and Kent acknowledged it. Northumbria made alliance with him. Wessex stood aloof as Offa's rival. Hitherto the secret of Mercia's success had been her central position, affected also, perhaps, by the large admixture of native Britons. This had enabled Offa to exercise a kind of control over the states on either side, and to claim a position which encouraged him to pose as overlord. The moment was critical, for there was always the tendency for these Teutonic states to slip back into a state of barbarism, if they were in any way cut off from the central forces in Europe. At first there seemed no danger of this in the case of Mercia. We find, indeed, a treaty between Offa and Charlemagne which safeguarded Mercian pilgrims when they carried their prayers and their merchandise to Rome. Presently, however, there arose a quarrel between the truculent chieftain of Mercia and Charlemagne, then the hero of the Western world, a quarrel which seemed likely to close the ports on either side the Channel to the trade of England and of the Franks. At about the same time, Offa chose to interfere in a dispute over the Wessex "kingship" and to place his own particular claimant at the head of that state. Upon this, the other claimant, Egbert, fled for safety and perhaps for aid to the Court of the Frankish king. At once we see how close was the connection between England and Europe, and how natural it was for an English chieftain to turn to the chief Continental power of that day for help.

The next stage of the quarrel shows the interconnection still more clearly. It was the English Alcuin, who had gone from York to be tutor to Charlemagne's sons, who smoothed over the threatened rupture between the Mercian chief and the Emperor. And when Egbert returned, with all the influence of Charlemagne and the civilization of Europe

behind him, to demand the headship of Wessex, no one attempted seriously to oppose him.

This was by no means an isolated instance of the close links between England and the Continent. Already in a previous century we might have seen Wilfrid of York hurrying to and fro between Northumbria and Rome; and Benedict Biscop, the monk of Wearmouth, ransacking Gaul and Rome itself for glassworkers and carvings and wall paintings wherewith to adorn his new-built Church at Jarrow.

From Crediton, on the other hand, the seat of a Mercian bishopric, Boniface had gone forth to teach the Faith to German tribes now subject to the Franks; and other English priests carried on his labours after his death and kept this land in close touch with Europe. For the first time England began to set up a reputation for learning as well as for missionary zeal; and when the scholar Alcuin responded to Charlemagne's call, it was to York that he sent youths "who may obtain thence necessary books and so bring to the Franks the flowers of Britain, that the garden of Paradise be no more confined to York."

§ 2. **The Rise of Wessex,** 802–839.—We have seen that when Egbert of Wessex, with European influence at his back, demanded the position of overlord of England, his claim was scarcely contested.

Northumbria, worn out by a century of internal anarchy, soon lay at his feet; Mercia, helpless after the death of Offa, could not hold her own; the smaller kingdoms made no show of independence. From the River Forth to the English Channel Egbert was acclaimed "King of the English," at least in name. But it needed something far more drastic than a superficial military conquest to make England one.

Standing as this country then did at the brink of another terrific disruption, another barbarian invasion that was, for a time at least, to affect the land in a most disastrous manner, besides threatening to overwhelm the civilization of Europe, we may look back for a moment and consider the more important changes that had taken place during the last two centuries.

§ 3. **Effects of Christianity.**—The most apparent effects of the Conversion of England during this period were, first, a higher moral standard of life; and, secondly, the appearance

ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENTS & EMPIRE of WESSEX
Century VIII.
Century IX
LOTHIAN
Lindisfarne
Strathclyde
BERNICIA
NORTHUMBRIA
Jarrow
Durham
Whitby
DERIRA
York
R. Humber
Wakefield
Lincoln
DANELAGH
Chester
Stafford
Derby
Tamworth
Leicester
Stamford
EAST ANGLES
St Edmundsbury
Bridgnorth
MIDDLE ANGLES
WALES
Wigmore
MERCIA
Burford
Oxford
EAST SAXONS
MIDDLE SAXONS
Colchester
London
R. Thames
R. Severn
Ashdown
Reading
Chippenham
Wedmore
Winchester
Glastonbury
Wenlock
Canterbury
KENT
Ockley
SUSSEX
WESSEX
WEST WALES
0 20 40 60 80
English Miles

of a small class of "intellectuals," who could not only read and write both in Latin and the native dialects, but who were beginning to count among their number scholars of European fame.

The coming of Christianity, however, had done more than this. It had placed the priest and the priestly class apart from the laity, and had given them a definite position and rights of their own; and the codes drawn up to define these rights were the beginning of written law. Following this model, we find Ine of Wessex in the beginning of the eighth century setting out, not so much a code, as a record of penalties due to the infringement of laws and customs. This throws clear light on the social conditions of the time.

It is clear that Christianity did much to abolish the ancient blood feuds, carried on sometimes for generations, and substituted the idea of mutual protection for that of individual revenge.

Most important of all, perhaps, it brought back to the land the idea of a large all-embracing State, governed by a single ruler, depending morally on the loyalty of its citizens and financially on the contributions made by the occupants of each "hide" or unit of land. And thus, for the second time, the notion of unity and centralization was gained by England.

Political Conditions.—Politically these early English states were ruled by petty kings aided by small and aristocratic bodies of advisers—bishops, abbots, a few princes or athelings, whom they consulted without being bound by their counsel. In Wessex, probably also in Mercia, the "prefect" or "duke" governing the "shire" division called a "shire moot" twice a year to consider points of local order and interest, and also organized the shire forces for warfare. This court, however, was in the main a meeting of armed gesiths—the "doomsmen"—and exercised a very rough-and-ready kind of justice. The really popular courts were the monthly "hundred moots," often ruled by bishops or abbots, the owners of monastic property. These met to consider the affairs of groups of villages, roughly classed as "hundreds."

Social Conditions.—These affairs are indicated in the "Laws of Ine," which also show the grades into which society was divided. The order runs as follows: king, archbishop, bishop and earl, king's reeve or officer, mass-thegn (priest),

secular thegn (knight), ceorl, theow or bondsman. We find it hinted at in the law which ordains: "If any man fight in the king's house, he must atone for it with all his possessions; and must lose his life if it be the king's will."

"If any man fight in a monastery, he must pay a fine of 120 sheep (120s.).

"If in the house of an earl (nobleman or ealdorman) he must atone by a fine of 60 sheep and another 60 as a fine to the king.

"If in the house of a thegn (taxpaying tenant or knight) or a farmer (ceorl) he must pay 30 sheep to the king and 6 to the freeholder.

"And even if he fight in the fields he must pay 30 sheep as a fine to the king."

A simpler distinction is between the *eorls*, thegns or knights, and the *ceorls*, or agriculturists. But if a ceorl owned five hides of land, and had built a church, a kitchen, a belfry, or a castle gate, he could claim a "thegn's seat" in the hall of the king. Likewise a merchant who had crossed the open sea thrice at his own expense ranked as a thegn.[1]

From the agricultural peasant class work and rent were claimed by the lord of the district. The latter was paid in kind. Thus one of Ine's laws fixes a yearly rent at "10 vats of honey, 300 loaves, 12 buckets of Welsh ale, 30 of clear ale, 10 sheep, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, a bucket of butter, 5 salmon, 20 weighs of hay, 100 eels."

Other glimpses of social conditions are obtained from such laws as these: "If a man steal and his wife and children know not of it, he must pay a fine of 60 sheep. If he steal and his family know it, let them all be sold into slavery. A ten-year-old boy may be an accomplice of theft."

"If a stranger go off the footpath through a wood, and neither shouts nor blows his horn, let him be taken for a thief and either slain or ransomed."

"If a man burn a tree in a wood and it gets known, he must pay the full fine (60s.). For fire is a thief. If he cut down quite a number of trees and it gets known, he must pay the price of these trees: no need to pay more however

[1] *Laws of Athelstan:* "And if a ceorl throve so that he had fully five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and burhgate, seat and special duty in the king's hall, then was he henceforth of thegn-right worthy."

many he cuts down, for the axe is an informer, not a thief!"

Primitive as are these "laws," they show a certain ideal of peace and orderliness that was the direct result of definite faith and religious organization. The mention of slavery in one of them recalls again the influence of the Church. A class of slaves, below that of the theows or bondmen, "serfs" or "thralls," who were only "bond" in the sense of being "bound" to their lord's estate, certainly existed, and this state of things was tolerated by the Church as belonging to primitive conditions. At the same time she did much to improve their lot. Laws were drawn up for the protection of the "thrall." He must not be beaten without reason, nor deprived of his savings. When St. Wilfrid founded the monastery of Selsey, King Ethelwald gave him two hundred and fifty male and female slaves who "belonged" to the endowment lands, and was amazed when the bishop at once set them free. But under the Laws of Alfred, founded on these earlier codes, or rather records, we find it laid down that, after seven years of faithful service, the slave should be given his freedom at the cross-roads and permitted to go whither he would.

Later on, after England had recovered from the violent shock she was now about to undergo, we shall see some interesting developments of these social conditions.

EXERCISES

1. What remains still exist of Roman Britain? Show how they throw light on the social conditions of that period, and explain the effect of the Roman settlement.
2. Note the differences between the Roman and the English settlements in Britain.
3. Give a careful summary of the effects of Christianity on the (*a*) political and (*b*) social condition of England.
4. Sketch and account for the rise and fall of any one of the seven "kingdoms."
5. Show the effect of personality on history in the case of any three figures of this period.

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN—NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES (A.D. 800–1000)

General Review, A.D. 800–1000.—The ninth and tenth centuries fall within the period known as the Dark Ages. The chief event, or rather series of events, that marks them is the struggle with the Northmen who incessantly raided the coasts of Europe. The effect of this was to check development and to destroy much of the earlier civilization. In those years men had no leisure for anything save fighting; and though in England we shall find King Alfred making heroic efforts to restore a literature to his harassed land, it shows no signs of originality or growth. It was rather "a desperate effort to preserve the memory of a great but half-forgotten past."[1] No new towns or roads or bridges were made, though many such were destroyed. The one force that kept society together was the influence of the Church, exercised mainly through the monasteries. These preserved to some extent the learning that would otherwise have vanished; fed the starving people in the ravaged regions from their granaries—until they themselves were looted; drained marshes, cleaned forests, and stood as a firm and abiding foundation in the midst of a shifting world.

In England the one good result of these disastrous pirate raids was the united front forced upon the still scattered tribal provinces in the face of such a foe.

The periods of the Invasions of the Northmen may be roughly distinguished as follows:

In the first half of the ninth century the pirates came as raiders, destroying coast towns and monasteries, and threatening a devastation that would have completely swamped the growing civilization. For the next century and a half (till 1016) they came as settlers, and accepted to a great extent the society they had hitherto attacked, and were themselves moulded by it. From 1016 to 1042 a Danish dynasty ruled this land. During this period Wessex, in consequence of her coast territory, stands in the foreground as the object of attack and as the defender of England. A Wessex King, Alfred the Great, was the first, during the last half of the ninth century,

[1] H. Belloc, *Europe and the Faith.*

to prevent their advance and to press them back into the Northern province.

Of equal importance is the personality of Archbishop Dunstan during the latter half of the tenth century (955-978). Edgar, the first king who reigned during a period of comparative peace, and Canute, who made England, for a time, a part of the Scandinavian Empire, are the only other striking male personalities of the period. A woman, Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, dominated for a short time the period after Alfred's death.

§ 1. **The Northmen.**—"From the fury of the Northmen, Lord deliver us." So ran a clause of the Church's litany during the dark years that closed the ninth century, when heathen invaders from Scandinavia were harassing most of the coast of Europe and with them the Southern coast of England. Up the Thames the Vikings sailed in their long black ships, to besiege London after attacking Canterbury. From the West came news of revolts, incited by the raiders, of the Britons of Devon and Cornwall. Plunder was at first their main object, and before the death of Ethelwulf, the successor of Egbert, London and Rochester had been sacked, and scarcely a monastery remained intact within twelve miles of the coast-line.

It was as though the pagan gods were taking bitter revenge upon the descendants of those who had once paid them homage. For these Northmen were akin in race and religion to those first Angles and Saxons who had overrun Britain four centuries earlier. Many of their social ideas and customs were like theirs. But an interesting proof of the effect of Christianity upon the English is seen when we compare the progress made, during the past three centuries of faith, with that made by their kinsmen across the seas during the same period. The Vikings were brave and daring savages, as pitiless to the weak as they were loyal to their own strong leaders. They had the moral virtues of professional pirates; their highest ideal was a life of adventure, abundance of food and drink, and a courageous death on the field of battle.

The cause of their appearance at this particular period is interesting. The conquests of Charlemagne in the latter years of the eighth century had driven tribes of restless Saxons from the German lowlands across the narrow sea into Scandinavia, of which Denmark formed a part. That poor

and barren land afforded scant living for an increased population, and so we find hordes of sea-loving Vikings going forth across the "swan-path" to harry the coasts of Europe. From North to South their traces are found. Charlemagne himself wept at his impotence in face of their daring raids. Before the end of the ninth century they had made permanent settlements in Northern France and had harried the land up to the gates of Paris. During the tenth century they became masters of Normandy—the Land of the Northmen. In the eleventh century they had seized Southern Italy, and long before that time had overrun the Low Countries.

To the islands of Britain they came in two great waves of invasion, one direct from Norway, by way of the Shetlands, to Ireland, under the leadership of Fingall, and one by way of the Frisian and Flemish coasts across the Channel to Wessex. The Irish, who knew them as "Ostmen," saw them as permanent settlers on their Western Coast as early as 832. The English, who called them "Danes," managed to repel their advances, though not their raids, until the days of Ethelwulf (839-858), when "the heathen first began to winter in their land."

A period of desolation followed. The chief objects of plunder were the monasteries, not because of their wealth, for they had little, but for the sacred vessels of gold and silver and the rich hangings of the sanctuary. Not only plunder but destruction was their object, and the result was disastrous. Apart from the loss of valuable manuscripts, illuminated missals, finely wrought chalices and patens, the burning of a monastery in those days meant the loss of a definite force on the side of civilization.

For these places were the model communities of their period. In the stirring words of a writer of our own day, they "kept the world's diary, faced the plagues of all flesh, taught the first technical arts, preserved the pagan literature—and, above all, by a perpetual patchwork of charity kept the poor from the most distant sight of their modern despair."[1] And that these things were fully realized is proved by the fact that the first act of every king worthy of the name during this period was to found or refound a monastery wherever he had an opportunity.

The strongest wave of invasion came in the reign of

[1] G. K. Chesterton.

Ethelred I. (866–871), King of Wessex. In his days, under the blow from without, the native kingships fell, and the seven "kingdoms," as such, ceased to exist. All parts of England suffered alike. Northumbria saw her fine churches and monasteries in smoking ruins and her land overrun by the foe. York was captured and the province submitted to Danish rule (867).

East Anglia was then invaded by Guthrum, a notable Viking chief, who built his "mound forts" at Thetford, Norwich, and Cambridge, and gained for King Edmund his crown of martyrdom (870). Mercia, too, was "largely cut into." Only Wessex remained unconquered, and that was in sore peril in the dark days when Alfred, brother of Ethelred, succeeded to the burden of the kingship.

During this period, with the exception of a brief check to the foe at *Assandune* (Ashington) in 871, the English had almost invariably been defeated. This will not be a matter for wonder if we realize that the *fyrd*, or native army, was a host of farmers, armed with scythes, billhooks, axes, or whatever weapons came to hand. Nor were the "sturdy yeomen" in the majority, for the greater part of the *fyrd* was composed of serfs, forced combatants with little heart for the fight. The English, moreover, were, as a rule, without fortifications, their troops slow to arm and slow to move. They had, in fact, much to learn from foes who struck like lightning where and when they pleased, and, if hard pressed, fell back with equal swiftness on their ships.

The real cause for wonder is that England was able to postpone for a century a conquest that would have meant in those days a return to heathenism and a complete destruction of the civilization of three centuries. That she did so is largely due to the work of Alfred of Wessex (878–901).

Around the Anglo-Saxon kings, as we have seen, there was in that day no glamour of royalty; their only importance consists in the movements towards progress made during their rule. But from these "shadow kings" Alfred stands out as a real personality, a man of "great breadth and clearness of vision," who saw the weakness of the age and its remedy. Seventy years of fighting had already wellnigh destroyed the mind and soul of England; a truce, if not an actual peace, must be obtained, even at the sacrifice of a united kingdom.

The Work of Alfred (878–901).—So, by concentrating all his powers on a victory at *Ethandune* (Edington or Heddington, in Wiltshire, 878), Alfred obliged Guthrum to agree to a treaty signed at *Wedmore*, by which hostages were given as a pledge for the evacuation of the foe from Wessex. But this was unimportant in comparison with the rest of the terms, for Guthrum agreed to accept the Christian Faith, and within a few weeks was baptized, with thirty of his chieftains, at a spot near the camp of Athelney, Alfred standing as his sponsor. The fact is remarkable, not so much for the apparent suddenness of the conversion, as for the proof it affords that the fierce Northman had realized the extraordinary importance of the religion he had thought so easy to destroy, and was prepared to accept it as a proof of his desire to settle down in peace as an "Englishman."

This treaty, which bought for England fifteen years of peace, gave the Northmen the district north of a line drawn from London to Chester; and there they "dealt out the land among themselves."

§ 2. **Reforms of Alfred the Great.**—The immediate effect of this arrangement was the recognition of the overlordship of Alfred by all the other provinces. London fell into his hands and was rebuilt by him; the princes of South Wales recognized his supremacy; and in face of a common foe the South-West of England became one state.

At once the king set to work in a country from which law and order had vanished, where lands lay waste, and towns lay in ruins. The reorganization of the army was a pressing need; so also was the cultivation of the devastated soil. With wise forethought, the king ordained that one-third of the available forces should hold themselves ready for active service, another third for garrison duty; the rest performed their ordinary work as agriculturists.

Realizing, also, the pressing importance of guarding the coast, he built ships "larger and longer" than those of the Vikings, and manned them with Frisian sailors well accustomed to the sea.

Then he turned his attention to the condition of the peasants, the chief sufferers, as always, in the long war. "In that country the poor had no friend but the king," declares the chronicle; but when ealdormen and "reeves" held office only by the king's gift, it was possible to exercise a very

definite amount of control over tyrannical officials and landlords.

His Code of Laws is not original—he said in his humility that he would not make new laws, since "he knew not how it might like them that came after him"—but was a collection of the most useful of the "dooms" of Ethelbert, and Ine, and Offa. Here we have another step towards a unified state when the institutions of Kent, Wessex, and Mercia were fused into one code by a Wessex king and accepted by all England outside the "Danelaw."

A greater need than a legal code was the revival of religion in the land; and that depended upon an increased supply of priests and on the spread of education. Of the state of learning in England during the last half of the ninth century we get a graphic picture in the king's own words. He begins by describing the condition of the country in former years. when holy days were kept and the messengers of God were held in high honour for their learning, and when foreigners came to learn from their lips. "But so entirely has England fallen away in this respect," says he, "that very few [priests] on this side of the Humber could understand their missals or translate a Latin letter . . . in fact, I do not think there was a single one on the south side of the Thames when I became king." He draws the moral: "We became proud of the name of Christian, but we loved the practice of our faith little enough"; and traces the fact to the condition of the land "when all the churches of the Angle kin, full of treasures and books, were harried and burnt," so that all chance of education at the hands of priests was lost. Then he bethinks himself of the remedy. He will translate Latin books, "those that are most useful for all men to know," into the tongue of the people, with the aid of Plegmund, his archbishop, and Asser, his bishop, and Grimbald and John, his Mass priests. "And all the freeborn youths of the Angle kin who can afford it shall be put to learning, and shall do nothing else till they can read English easily; afterwards, if they aim at high office, they shall also learn Latin." To each monastic bishopric he sends one of the translations made by himself of St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. In each is a valuable bookmark (*æstel*) worth fifty coins. "And I command in God's name that no man take the bookmark from the book, nor the book from the monastery; since no one

knows how much longer we may have the learned bishops which, thanks be to God, we have at present. Therefore I would have it kept in one place, unless the bishop wants to take it away with him, or he lend it to someone, or someone else wants to copy it."

From the reign of Alfred dates our first English chronicle, for, except for a passage here and there, the record of the time had been kept in Latin; and thus in his English School, in his translations, and in his encouragement of this Winchester Chronicle, we find the first beginnings of English prose literature.

This in itself was another important step towards unity, for though each province still kept its own dialect, a "standard prose" was set up in writing for the first time.

Building ships and fortresses, rebuilding towns and monasteries, not by the aid, but almost against the will, of a people stunned into apathy by long years of warfare, Alfred stands out as a courageous reformer and a simple, humble-minded man. His Court became a model for the disorderly ealdormen of his day; his whole time was given to improving the condition of his people; his life was literally spent in their cause, whether on the battlefield or in the study. Probably his own subjects were slower to recognize his real greatness than the outside world of Christendom from which England, through the Danish inroads, had been so disastrously separated. We hear, at any rate, of his constant intercourse with Rome, and of certain favours granted by Pope Marinus to his "Saxon School" in that city. Letters passed between him and the Patriarch Abel, of Jerusalem. The "Christians of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew," converts of Southern India, asked and obtained alms at his hands.

The last years of Alfred were again harassed by warfare. New forces of Northmen, under a pirate chief named Hasten, appeared in Wessex, and were paid money to leave the country—the first instance of an unhappy policy carried to its fullest extent by Alfred's successors. Again he appeared, this time on the Severn, and then in raids on Chester, and North Wales, and in regions as far apart as Northumbria and Essex. In the desperate struggle that followed Wessex held her own, driving the enemy from her land and from that of the neighbour provinces. In the end many of these marauders settled down as farmers in Northumbria or East

Anglia, in places that still speak of their origin by the appearance of the Danish "by" in the suffix of their names; and those to whom this did not appeal "fared south over sea to the Seine" and resumed their life as freebooters.

"Thanks be to God," says the Chronicle, "they had not utterly broken the Angle kin, but were themselves much more broken with loss of men and cattle."

So ends the second act of the drama of invasion, in which Wessex had played such a prominent part that she might well claim to rule over what remained of England. The successors of Alfred, as we shall see, determined to extend this rule.

By the time Edward the Elder (901–928) succeeded his father Alfred, the Danish settlers had so far become part of the nation that they had accepted a common code of laws and free intercourse between themselves and the English. Many of them had married English wives; their children claimed to be of "Angle-kin." More important still is their almost universal acceptance of the Catholic Church and their abjuration of their heathen gods. But the new-made Danish "kings" of the North and East of England had no experience and little skill in governing farmers in place of pirates; their land was often in a state of anarchy; and if England were ever to be at peace the one crying necessity was to unite the Danish and English provinces under one ruler.

This was the aim of Edward, who began his work, however, nearer home, by definitely incorporating within the Wessex borders that "lower valley of the Thames," which included London and Oxford, hitherto ruled by Mercia. The rest of Mercia, after Edward's death, was left in the hands of his sister, Ethelfleda, the "Lady of the Mercians," a worthy daughter of Alfred the Great, who, by her forts, or "mounds," at Tamworth, Stafford, and Warwick, secured the line of the Watling Street. These mounds, traces of which may yet be seen, are interesting examples of early mediæval fortifications. A "cone of earth . . . from twelve to fifty feet high" was raised and surrounded by a deep ditch, and this again by a high earthwork and a ditch. Round the crest of the mound a high wooden palisade was built, within which was the roughly constructed "castle" of the ealdorman. Access to this was by means of a plank bridge carried to the top of the mound from the exterior rampart.

For seven years the " Lady of the Mercians " not only held her own against the encroachments of the Danish settlers, but, by her intrepid storming of their strongholds, broke their resistance to Edward's advances. Thus he was able to extend his overlordship to the Mersey on the West, and to Bedford and the Ouse on the East of the Watling Street. Ethelfleda was the product of a warlike age, riding at the head of her " well-loved thegns " and taking active part in many a gallant fight for her country. When she was laid to rest in St. Peter's Church, the future Cathedral of Gloucester, the whole of Mercia passed into the hands of the Wessex king.

We may note here one more result of the prestige she had won for her brother, a much less triumphant personality. The Chronicle tells us in the year of her death of the submission of " three Welsh kings " to Edward; and early in the following year (920) we read that " the King of Scots and the Scottish people and Regnald and the sons of Eadulf and all the dwellers in Northumbria, whether English, Danes, or Northmen, and the King of Strathclyde [the district from the Clyde to Whitehaven] and all the Strathclyde Welsh took Edward to father and lord."

§ 3. **Unification of England,** 920–1000.—Even if we discount somewhat this wholesale submission, we have ample proof that Athelstan, son of Edward (924–940), was able, after one great conflict, to establish " lordship " over the whole of England. This opportunity came when the sons of the late Danish King of York, whose province Athelstan had claimed, rose against him in alliance with a Welsh prince, with a Danish chieftain from Ireland, and with the perfidious " King of Scots," that " hoary warrior, that old deceiver," who had sworn homage to Edward.

The battle that followed, at *Brunanburh*, in 937, became the proud theme of warrior and minstrel for many a long day.

> Never yet was such slaughter in this island since hitherward
> English and Saxons came up from the East
> Over the broad seas and won this our land.

By this victory Athelstan became " Lord Paramount " of Britain, and in spite of revolts and rebellions under his three immediate successors, Edmund, Edred, and Edwy, the country was not again rent asunder.

Thus the way was prepared for that significant scene at the coronation of Edgar " the Peaceful " on Whit-Sunday, 973. The place was the old Roman city of Bath, where, after a form of election had been gone through, a great procession of abbots, priests, monks, abbesses, and nuns led the " crowned elected king " to the church. Reaching the altar, Edgar laid his crown upon it and knelt whilst the *Te Deum* was sung. Turning to the assembled multitude, Archbishop Dunstan asked if they would have Edgar for their king, and on their eager assent proceeded to administer the Coronation Oath. Solemnly the king swore to keep Church and People in true peace; to put down robbery and evildoing in all ranks; to temper justice with mercy.

Then, after the anointing, came the investiture with the ring and sword, the sceptre with its cross, the rod with its dove, the royal crown. " Sta et retine!" (Stand and hold!) cried the archbishop; and Edgar was King of Britain.

His coronation was followed by the recognition of his position by vassal princes from Wales, who vowed to be " his fellow-workers by sea and land," and by the " King " of Scots, of the Isle of Man, of Strathclyde and the " Southern Isles " (of Scotland). One chronicler paints a glorious picture of Edgar's progress up the River Dee at the head of a procession of boats, his own rowed by six or eight of the vassal kings and steered by his own hand. " When any one of my aftercomers gets as many kings to serve him as I have here, then may he as truly call himself King of England," was Edgar's proud boast.

§ 4. **The Work of Dunstan,** 955–978.—The success of this king, and the general advance in civilization of the English during this period of interlude before the next Danish invasion, were due in very large measure to the work of Archbishop Dunstan, England's first ecclesiastical Prime Minister, the " soul of the reign of Edgar." We see him first as a studious boy immersed in the books brought to him by the Irish pilgrims who visited the church in the cloisters of Glastonbury, where he had received minor orders at a very early age. From thence he was sent by ambitious parents to the Court of Athelstan, where his " dreams and prayers " made him the butt of the other lads of noble birth who were being educated there in the duties of a thegn. Perhaps his skill in music, or his remarkable attraction for animals and

birds, suggested to these scions of a rough-and-ready age the idea of accusing him of wizardry; for we find them attempting to duck him in a muddy pond and presently getting him banished from the Court. The Bishop of Winchester, his uncle, received the lad, and counselled him to go back to the cloister. A great work was needed there—the revival of the rule of St. Benedict, unmodified by later concessions. The lad might be the means of a much-needed reform. But Dunstan hesitated. Worldly love and ambition beckoned him; it needed a severe illness to point out the higher path which led back to Glastonbury as a monk. Once more the Court summoned him and he obeyed; but again his strong character and strict life offended some, while it attracted others. The young King Edmund took offence against him, and Dunstan prepared to depart. Just as he was about to do so came an urgent message—the king had been within an ace of death, had vowed to make amends, if he should escape falling from the brink of a precipice, to the monk he had wronged. Straightway he summoned Dunstan to Glastonbury, which he had kept vacant for the sake of its revenues, and installed him as abbot.

For a young monk of twenty-two the task was colossal. The buildings were in ruins, monks there were none, a community of "secular canons," probably married men, lived round about it. Rebuilding the monastery, the revival of discipline, and the gathering together of a band of youths to be trained under the Benedictine Rule, formed only a part of the work that quickly gained for Dunstan the name of the "first true English abbot."

His great work during the years that followed was the revival of monasticism, the importance of which may be realized by considering what the country had suffered by its loss under the Danish invasion. In Alfred's reign there were so few vocations that he had to call in foreigners to fill his newly established convent at Athelney. In Edgar's day, with the aid of Bishops Oswald of Worcester and Ethelwold of Winchester, Dunstan, now Archbishop of Canterbury, never rested until training schools for clergy had been established, new monasteries founded and old ones rebuilt, and zealous bands of Benedictine monks placed therein in order to raise up a new and high ideal of holiness in an England that had almost fallen away. This meant a battle between the secular clergy,

"illiterate and subject to the discipline of no regular order," and the regulars, "shepherds of a holier race"; but it was an absolute necessity in days when the faith of the people depended upon a strict, zealous, and learned priesthood.

We get an excellent example of this sterner spirit in Dunstan's own behaviour with regard to the so-called marriage of the weak young king, Edwy, against the laws of the Church. His denunciation led to his banishment, but the king tried in vain to buy over the Church in his absence with gifts of land and money. When Mercia and Northumbria revolted, powerful bishops and abbots stood aloof, and welcomed the Atheling Edgar as king north of the Thames; and Edgar's first act was to recall Dunstan.

It was during the seventeen years of the reign of Edgar—whom, as we have seen, "kings honoured far and wide and submitted to, as was fitting"—that the second part of the task of Dunstan was fulfilled. As Archbishop of Canterbury and chief adviser of the king, he not only completed the great monastic revival already begun, but carried out a scheme of statesmanship whereby an England, torn and harried by divisions and revolts, found herself at peace. The chief obstacles to this had been, as usual, the rebellious spirit and uncertain loyalty of the Danish element in the North and Midlands, and that of the Scots on the North-West. So the adherence of Kenneth of Scotland was secured by the grant of Lothian, the modern Cumberland, a part of Strathclyde that had always been debatable ground. The Danes were conciliated by allowing them to have their own laws, while their power was hampered in the North by breaking up the huge province of Northumbria into three parts, ruled by different "jarls." These concessions, though fruitful of trouble in the future, certainly tended towards unity and peace at a time when it was most necessary; and king and archbishop could then turn their attention to drawing up the code known as "Edgar's Law" for the lasting benefit of the people.

"Edgar's Law."—A brief glance at this code, and at that drawn up in the days of Athelstan, gives us some vivid pictures of the social life of tenth-century England. There was nothing new in the division of the land into "hundreds" and "tithings," but now we find a definite regulation that the members of each of these districts should be responsible for the good behaviour of the rest. "Lordless men" were obliged

to find a lord who would stand surety for their right conduct. Either the lord, or a body of men who accepted the same responsibility (the *borh*), must answer for a man who commits crime and then runs away—a system not unlike our modern "bail." Another law forbade the murder of slaves, and encouraged the "manumission" or freeing of the bondsman. Gilds, or voluntary associations for the preservation of peace, are referred to as established customs. Each gild had a common purse, by means of which the needy members were helped. It was divided into groups of ten members, looked after by an "elder": these members agree to stand by one another in "one friendship and one foeship," and have a free hand in dealing with thieves "according to folk-right."

The roughness of the age is seen in some of their methods of so dealing. A child of fifteen caught stealing property worth more than twelve pence (the price of three sheep) must be put to death unless—as generally happened—he did not "resist" and could get friends to pay compensation and stand surety for his future good conduct. A murderer, again, must only lose his life if the relatives of the slain man could prove that none of their race had ever been thieves, and that the victim himself had never done anything worthy of death. In other cases "thieves or reivers" (robbers) gained five days' truce by taking sanctuary in bishop's palace or church: but if the "lord of the sanctuary" harboured the fugitive longer, he himself became liable for his offence.

Another method of evading the death penalty was the Ordeal, of which we give a description taken from the "Laws of Athelstan."

"Concerning the ordeal, we enjoin, by command of God and of the archbishop and of all bishops, that no man come within the church after the fire is borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the priest and him who shall go thereto; and let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark. But if it be water, let it be heated till it come to boiling. And be the kettle of iron or of brass, of lead or of clay. And if it be a single accusation, let the hand dive after the stone up to the wrist; and if it be threefold, up to the elbow. And when it is ready, let two men go in of either side; and be they agreed that it is as hot as we have said. And let go in an equal number of men of either side and stand on both sides, along the church; and let these all be fasting . . . and

let the priest sprinkle holy water over them all, and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and the image of Christ's Rood to kiss; and let no man mend the fire after the hallowing is begun, but let the iron be upon the hot embers till the last collect. After that, let it be laid on the post, and let there be no other speaking within save that they earnestly pray to Almighty God that he make manifest what is soothest. And let (the accused) go thereto; and let his hand be enveloped, and be it postponed till after the third day whether it be foul or clean within the envelope."

One more extract from Edgar's Law shall be given, as it touches a matter that meant as much in those days as in these:

"Let one money pass through the king's dominion, and that let no man refuse; and let one measure and one weight pass, such as is observed at London and at Winchester; and let the 'weigh' of wool go for cxx pence and let no man sell it cheaper; if any man does so, let him pay xl shillings to the king, both him who sells it and him who buys it."

By these coins, measures, and weights, as well as by her faith, was this England of the tenth century linked on to the Britain of the first century after Christ.

EXERCISES

1. Show the importance of the work of Alfred the Great (*a*) as a soldier, (*b*) as a writer, (*c*) as a reformer.
2. Describe *two* important effects of the Pirate Raids.
3. Characterize the work of Archbishop Dunstan.
4. What influences helped to "unify" England in this period?
5. Write a brief essay on the Character of the Dark Ages.

CHAPTER III

THE DRAGON OF WESSEX AND THE RAVEN OF THE NORTH—THE ELEVENTH CENTURY
(*FIRST HALF*, A.D. 1000–1050)

The Dark Ages, so near their end, were now closing in upon England in a deeper gloom.

General Review, 1000-1050.—In this chapter we shall see how, in the first half of the eleventh century, the third act of the drama of Scandinavian invasion was played to its con-

clusion. Notice throughout this period the growing importance of the statesman chieftain; how Ethelred the "Unrede" failed for lack of a far-sighted adviser; how Canute succeeded because he was strong enough to play the part himself; how Earl Godwin dominated the period between the fall of the Danish dynasty and the Norman Conquest.

These were also the years that for the first time saw England ruled by foreigners; for Edward the Confessor, in spite of his English blood, was even more of an alien than Canute, the Northman. With the end of the period the English dynasty fell under a more terrific shock from without than she had ever yet experienced, but only to revive again in later years and in vastly different circumstances.

§ 1. **Connection with the Continent in Ninth and Tenth Centuries.**—One of the chief drawbacks of the constant harrying of England by the Danes had been the difficulty of maintaining a close connection with the rest of the European world. Yet even in those years of preoccupation with matters at home, the call of Christendom still summoned men to go on pilgrimages. During the darkest period of invasion, King Ethelwulf was in Rome with his two young sons, and personally superintended there the rebuilding of the "Saxon School" lately destroyed by fire. Again, after the appearance of Alfred's fleet, built for commerce as much as for defence, we find frequent mention of a lively trade with Normandy, France, and Flanders. An interesting tenth-century dialogue, by one Ælfric Bata, makes a merchant talk of his silks, dyes, gems, wine, oil, ivory, and glass which he buys cheaply in the East and sells "dearly" in England.

All this points to a very fair amount of intercourse between this country and the Continent, an intercourse which must have been fostered by the frequent royal marriages, of which we find such striking examples. Of the sisters of Athelstan, for instance, one was married to Count Hugh, father of Hugh Capet, "founder of the House of France"; another to Otto the Great, the future ruler of the Germanic Empire; a third to the blind Louis, King of Provence; a fourth to Charles the Simple, King of the West Franks. Their relatives found hospitality or shelter at the English Court, and the fact of all these connections abroad shows that England was playing no unimportant part in European politics.

§ 2. **The Black Years of Famine and Slaughter,** 975–1016.— With the death of Edgar the Peaceful, however, the country fell back for a time into a condition of unrest and disruption. This was fatal to an extension of these Continental relations, except so far as these were forced upon her by foes from without. Two quarrels rent the land: one as to the succession of the twelve-year-old Edward or that of his younger half-brother, Ethelred; the other the dispute between the regular monks and the seculars. The first was settled by a deed of blood, when Edward, after a three years' reign (975–978), was foully done to death at his stepmother's door. The crime won for him a martyr's crown, more on account of his youth and unhappy fate than for his witness to the Faith; and for Elfthryth an earthly crown for her young son Ethelred II. It also gained for England a period of black depression, famine, and slaughter, most of which may be traced, in the later years of the reign, at any rate, to the weak and vacillating character of the new ruler.

Taking advantage of the youth of the king, the Danes appeared again in the land (980), plundering Padstow Abbey in Cornwall, overrunning the Isle of Portland, laying waste South Wales. And now the inhabitants for the most part looked on, nerveless, inert. It was but the prelude to an invasion, inspired by the restlessness of the exiled prince, Sweyn of Denmark, who, with aid from Norway, was preparing to carve for himself a new kingdom out of English land. It is significant that in the years of waiting, while this Danish adventurer was biding his time as a guest at the Court of Scotland, one of England's most powerful earldormen, known as "Child Ælfric" of Mercia, banished by Ethelred on a vague charge of disobedience, at once made his way to Denmark to offer his services to England's foes.

Meantime the people were without a leader. Dunstan, in despair of the rule of "a woman and a boy," had retired to Canterbury, and only once again appeared in the political world, when he saved Rochester from the siege, threatened by the angry king, Ethelred, and bought him off with a bribe. The fact signified much more than the saving of the estates of Bishop Alfstan of Rochester from destruction. It was a forecast of the future action of a mean, weak, and yet violent ruler. Two years later (988) Archbishop Dunstan, "the favourite saint of the English Church, the saviour of

England in days when the land lay in perilous state and the Church's discipline was almost a dead letter," was dead.

"On this year was the great hunger." This brief record, for the year 976, is repeated again and again during the reign of Ethelred II., and the cause is clear enough. Not so much the ravages of the Danes, but the extortions of the king produced a state of things in England that made it scarcely profitable to till the soil.

For, after the year 991, when we get the epic narrative of the Battle of Maldon, showing the old ealdorman Brythnoth of Essex, shamed to pay *gafol* (tribute) as the price of peace, crying out that the foe should not go "unbefoughten," though it cost him and his thegns their lives, the wretched king and his advisers made little attempt at resistance. Instead they agreed to buy brief periods of truce by paying huge sums that must have left the land in dire poverty.

Even when he did make places "to betrap the enemy round about," Ethelred, not unnaturally, found treachery in his own camp. Years earlier he had won the hatred of Child Ælfric of Mercia; and though the earl had managed at some time to regain his estates, his heart was still hot for revenge. In a weak attempt to buy his favour, Ethelred put the newly gathered fleet of Mercia under his command, with the result that, when the Danish ships appeared, the earl took it bodily over to their side. Curiously enough, the only vessel captured by the English, in the fight that followed between the East Anglian fleet and the Danes, was that of the traitor earl, whose fate was forthwith swift and violent. The following year his young son Alfgar, having fallen by chance into the king's power, was cruelly blinded.

These are but typical incidents of those dark years. The real period of invasion begins with the year 994, when the land was attacked in full force by a "league of monarchs aiming at political conquest."

The death of Eric of Denmark in 993 had made Sweyn king, and he who had been for so many years an exile promptly allied himself to another wanderer, Olaf Trygvason, now King of Norway. Together they attacked England, laying siege to London with fire and sword; and though on that occasion, says the Chronicle, "the Holy Mother of God showed her mercy to the burhmen and rid them of their foes," they

were only prevented from overrunning the South-East provinces by the payment of a heavy sum of money.

"And they wrought the most evil that any invaders ever did in burnings and harrowings and manslaughter . . . both on the coast of the East Saxons, and on Kent-land, and among the South Saxons, and in Hampshire; and then they got them horses and rode whithersoever they would, and wrought harm unspeakable."

A curious happening followed. In his day of success, King Olaf, either a heathen, or, like Sweyn, a renegade from the Faith, suddenly sent a message to Bishop Alphege (Ælfheah) of Winchester, intimating his wish to be either baptized or confirmed. It seemed a suspiciously sudden conversion, but it also bore evidence to the deference due to what the Northern pirate had seen of the Church in this land. The saintly bishop and future martyr treated the request with respect, bringing Olaf "with mickle worship" to the king's Court at Andover. "Taking him from the bishop's hands, the king gifted him royally," upon which he sailed away never to harass England again. Seven years later he died fighting against Sweyn. The latter, who then became king of part of Norway, now determined to make a final attempt to add England to his Empire of the Sea.

In the meantime this country was still sunk in a deplorable condition. Every winter the Northmen quartered themselves in the land, making permanent settlements in the Lake District of the North Country, or temporary headquarters along the South Coast, from which they could push their forces inland. Of the resistance of the English the Chronicle gives a pitiful account:

"Often was the fyrd gathered against them; but as soon as they should have met (in battle) then was flight ever resolved on for one reason or another; and so the enemy ever had the victory."

When the Danes appeared in the Medway and again laid siege to Rochester (999) the men of Kent rallied for a moment. "But well-a-way! Too readily they broke and fled, and then the Danes took horse and harried wellnigh all West Kent."

When the king called out the "ship fyrd" to aid the land army, worse confusion followed. "When the ships were ready, they delayed from day to day, distressing the poor folk that were in them; and when things should have been for-

warder so were they ever more backward; and ever they let the foe's army increase; and ever they drew back from the sea; and ever the foe went after them; and so in the end it served for nothing but the folk's distress, and wasting of money, and emboldening of the enemy."

§ 3. **Social Conditions at the Beginning of the Eleventh Century.**—The real cause of this weakness was not only the lack of a sturdy middle-class population, but the unhappy, ill-fed, ill-cared-for condition of the bondmen who formed the chief part of the fighting forces. The picture of social England painted by Archbishop Wulfstan of York at this period is dark enough. It tells of the plunder of Church property by powerful noblemen, the infringement of the rights of the clergy, the robbery of the poor. No real liberty, though much licence, was known in the land. "The freeman cannot go where he pleases, or do what he will with his own." A farmer might not even kill an ox or a sheep without witnesses, lest it turn out to be stolen property. Slaves are accused of disloyalty, of running over to the enemy, of killing their own masters. So lost was the idea of the family bond that "a father would sell his son, a son his mother, brothers a brother into slavery." And thus "by God's permission the enemy have grown so strong that one of them would scatter the Englishmen . . . the more we pay them the worse they treat us."

Suddenly, in the year 1002, the futile Ethelred took violent and disastrous action. He had married in the early months of the year Emma, a princess of Normandy, a marriage which was to have important results on our history. It is a bare possibility that her "stark" kinsfolk across the Channel urged the "nithing" Englishman to stronger measures. The Chronicle only suggests that he was panic-stricken at the report of a Danish plot to seize the kingdom. But we know that on St. Brice's Day (November 11) a sudden and unexpected slaughter of Danes took place at his orders, the horrors of which were well remembered more than a century after. The Danish shipmen, under treaty with the king to winter peacefully in English ports, settlers living "at the peace," women and children, all were slaughtered. Some of these are said to have taken refuge in the Church of St. Frideswide at Oxford (now Christ Church Cathedral), which was fired and burnt over their heads by the mob. Among others perished

the Lady Gunhild, sister of Sweyn of Denmark; and immediately that king prepared to take a bitter revenge.

With the land broken by poverty and disloyalty, there was no chance of standing against him. Even when the army chanced to be "of one mind," their leaders betrayed them. "When the ealdorman should have led the fyrd on," says the Chronicle, "then began he to show his old tricks. When the hosts were so near that either might behold the other, then he gave himself out as ill, and said that he was sick; and so turned back all the folk he should have led; and it is said, 'when leader weakeneth then is army sore hindered.'"

Then, again, even in face of a common foe, the effect of the fatal policy of dividing England up into great earldoms was seen, for "no shire would help another." For ten terrible years the storm of invasion swept up and down the land, leaving burning villages and monasteries in its track. During its course the saintly Alphege, now Archbishop of Canterbury, was foully murdered at Greenwich by a drunken Danish mob. By the beginning of the year 1014 Ethelred had fled the land and taken refuge at the Court of Normandy, whither his wife and sons had already hastened; and Sweyn ruled as "full king" over England.

After this events moved swiftly indeed. Within a month the Danish conqueror was dead, and his son Canute, "whom all the fleet had chosen king," was fighting hand in hand with the Saxon Eadric Streona, typical traitor of his day, against English Ethelred, for whose return the Witan had pitifully entreated. Two years later the death of the "Unrede" left England torn between the claims of his son, Edmund Ironside, and those of Canute. The disunion of the ravaged land, when earls such as Eadric Streona fought first on one side then on the other, was hopeless. For a brief while the country was divided between the banners of the Dragon of Wessex and the Raven of the North. In 1017 the death of Edmund left Canute "king of all England."

§ 4. **The Work of Canute,** 1017–1035.—In the person of Canute, a born ruler took the helm of the wellnigh shipwrecked State. In such a ruthless age it was a small matter that he cleared the way for a campaign of peace and order by sweeping with violence from his path such obstacles as Edwy the Atheling, Ethelred's son, or Eadric, the traitor, for whom he had no further use. In less ferocious spirit the Northman

pirate secured his position as English king by marrying Ethelred's widow, Emma of Normandy, and thus making sure of the friendship of her powerful kinsmen across the Channel. Forthwith he showed his confidence in his new subjects by sending the "horde," the Danish army, back to its own land, and by retaining only his own bodyguard, the "Thingmans," or "huscarls."

The first aim of Canute was to give the country "good peace" after forty years of constant war. Ignorant of Christianity as he was, though he had been baptized in infancy, the wild sea-king at once recognized the powerful influence of the Church as his best aid in restoring justice and well-doing; and the effect of this was soon to be seen in the marked change in his own character and actions. Monasteries were rebuilt, a magnificent church erected to mark the scene of his greatest victory at *Assandune* (Ashington), and by his gifts the Abbey of St. Edmund's, built on the site of the martyrdom of the young king of East Anglia murdered by his Danish forefathers, became one of the wealthiest in the kingdom.

From a brutal conqueror he himself developed into a wise statesman, bent on obtaining the goodwill of his people and on developing the country on national rather than on Danish lines.

This was the more remarkable, as, under his rule, England became a part of his Scandinavian Empire of the Sea, a fact which proved a fatal drawback to his policy, at least as far as future events were concerned. Since he was obliged to leave the southern portion of the Empire in order to arrange the affairs of his Northern lands, he divided England into four great provinces, ruled by four earls, of whom Godwin of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, Siward of Northumbria were destined to play a leading part in future days.

Social Conditions under Canute.—The first striking change in social conditions is the cessation of enmity between Danes and Englishmen, who now "agree to live under the Laws of King Edgar." By going back to the decrees of the one peaceful king of the century, Canute showed his wisdom and won his people. "Let us," decreed the Council which drew up his new Code, "ever with all our might exalt the worship and do the will of our king. For God will be true to them that are true to their lord." But mindful of the days of the "Unrede" it added, "and eke the lord has much need to hold his men rightly."

Again we see the spirit of reform, and the dependence upon the Church's authority, in a proclamation that bids archbishops, bishops, ealdormen, and reeves to punish impartially all wrong-doing "whether by Englishmen or Danes." Witchcraft, sorcery, neglect of Sunday Mass are to be penalized as much as murder or robbery. And in the famous Winchester Code we note the prohibition which forbade the selling of Christians as slaves into foreign lands, not so much because slavery was wrong, as that such men might fall into the hands of infidels and lose their faith.

The final pledge of goodwill between Dane and "Angle-kynn" was given when the body of the martyred Archbishop Alphege, hastily buried in St. Paul's, was carried thence in state to be laid in his Cathedral Church of Canterbury. "With winsome joy a great multitude, clerical and lay, bare him through Rochester, and there came the Lady Emma with her kingly bairn,[1] and they all with great pomp and gladness and singing of psalms bare the holy archbishop into Canterbury."

Troubles on the Scottish border, and the loss of Lothian to England in consequence of the crushing defeat of two quarrelsome Northern earls, must have been balanced to some extent by the events noted in the Chronicle for 1031, which relates that "Canute went to Scotland, and the Scots' King Malcolm submitted and became his man—also two other kings." One of these, it is interesting to note, was the Macbeth of Shakespeare, not yet a king, but soon to obtain the crown by the murder of Duncan, Malcolm's grandson and heir.

Eight years before his death in 1035, Canute, in fulfilment of a vow to do penance for his past deeds of violence, made a pilgrimage to Rome. Apart from the fact that the generosity of his gifts made the name of the "King of the English" famous throughout Europe, the event is of interest from several other points of view. We see him at Rome a member of the royal company that witnessed the coronation of the Emperor Conrad, and in close touch, as he says, with King Rudolph of Burgundy and "all the magnates from Mount Gargarus to the Mediterranean." In his famous letter to his subjects, sent by the hand of Bishop Lyfing of Crediton, he speaks of the "honourable reception" he had enjoyed and of the "better law" for pilgrims obtained by him from

[1] Hardicanute, aged five.

emperor and from king. "The bars and tolls" levied on those who journeyed by the passes of the Jura and the Alps were to be relaxed. "And I next complained to the pope that such immense sums were extorted from my archbishops when they visited the Apostolic See to obtain the pallium; and a decree was made that this grievance should cease." Finally, after exhorting his people to support their Church by the punctual paying of dues, he ends, "I have vowed to God to lead a right life in all things and to administer just judgment to all."

In 1035 died this able king, a foreigner among a conquered people, who had won the hearts of Englishmen by his fairness and good sense.

Seven years later, years of fatal disunion between his two sons, Harold and Hardicanute, the Danish dynasty came to an end.

Effects of the Viking Invasions.—Briefly summing up the results of two centuries of invasion and settlement, we may say that the influx of Northmen brought back to England a spirit of hardness, enterprise, and energy, the loss of which may have been the result of the failure of the Teuton tribes fully to grasp all that was meant by Roman civilization. The new impulse to exploration, seen in the tales of such men as Othere and Wulfstan, who had "dwelt to the northward further north than any man, and had hunted there the walrus and the seal," was probably one fruit of Viking example.

Another effect was the growth in the territorial power of the great earls (or ealdormen), who now may be regarded as the feudal lords of England, and who gave a promise of protection from Danish foes in return for certain rights over their tenants. The latter dwelt in the English *burh*, a hamlet containing a number of thatched cottages of wood, with the "hall" of their lord, and a little church, all enclosed within a low boundary or palisade. They must reap, plough, sow for their lord, or pay their "plough-penny," or "repp-silver"; and this, the beginning of the feudal system, familiar in Europe and not unknown to an earlier England, was directly encouraged under Danish influence.

EXERCISES

1. Note the links of communication between Europe and England during this period and state what you consider must have been their effect on this country.

2. Account for the fact that the first half of the eleventh century is bereft of ideals, of literature, and of great achievements.
3. Give a brief sketch of the social conditions of the period.
4. What do you consider the secret of the marked success of Canute as a ruler?

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE OF GODWIN—THE MIDDLE YEARS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY (1042–1066)

General Survey.—In this short chapter, which forms a kind of prologue to what may be called the Norman-English period, we shall see the beginnings of a struggle between the overlord, or king, as he may now be called, and the great landowners, or "earls." Again and again we shall see this contest recurring. Here its importance lies mainly in the fact that the circumstances in which it arose give an unusually clear picture of England just before the Norman Conquest, and show the effect of two centuries of pirate influence over the land.

This struggle has sometimes been considered as between a "national party," and a "foreign party" at whose head was the heir of Ethelred, Edward the Confessor, son of a Norman mother and an English father, brought up at the Norman Court, and surrounded by Norman priests and advisers. In one sense this is true, because the tendency of the Pirate Invasion had been to close the gates of Europe to Britain and to make the nation insular and isolated. Had this actually come about she could not have survived. Fortunately for her, the wide-minded rule of Canute and his devotion to the Catholic Church after his conversion, followed quickly by the reign of a king who, both by religion and education, was most closely attached to the European centres of civilization, saved her from this threatened fate. Moreover, there was never any desire of England as a whole for this false "national" idea. Much as she had suffered for a while under the really "foreign" rule of Danish kings, she never hesitated to accept the Anglo-Norman Edward. As says the Chronicle, "All men took him as was his right."

From the first moment of his reign the connection between

England and the Continent was strengthened. At his coronation, bearing gifts in their hands, we see ambassadors from the Courts of Henry III. of Germany, Henry I. of "France," and Magnus, king of Norway and Denmark. It was obvious that the days when the accession of an English "king" meant merely the supremacy of a more than usually powerful "ealdorman" were over. From this time England began to play her part on the international stage.

§ 1. **Earl Godwin and his Influence.**—At the right hand of Edward on his Coronation Day stood a man, typical of his period, who, having grown to power in the years when Danish influence, in spite of Canute's efforts, had to a large extent severed England from the Continent, was bent upon keeping his country to those insular lines. "England for the English" seems to have been the motto of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and, in pursuance of the idea, he intended to use Edward as his tool, and meantime to parcel out the whole country between himself and his five stalwart sons. He had already held the post of king's lieutenant under Canute, was married to a Danish wife, and owed all his advancement to a Danish king. By this time he ruled all England south of the Thames. Within a few years his eldest son, Sweyn, was to be supreme over most of Mercia, and Harold was to be Earl of East Anglia. Three younger sons, then mere boys, were to absorb practically the rest of the country under their rule. His daughter Edith, described in that day as "a woman whose mind was a gymnasium of all the liberal arts," became Edward's queen. Only Leofric, earl of a small part of Mercia, and the old Danish Earl Siward of Northumbria were strong enough to contest his authority over the whole land. If he could but count on the support of a thoroughly "English" hierarchy and Witan, his path was clear.

Already, across the Channel, Count Hugh Capet had successfully established his own family as the royal house of "France." There is no doubt that Godwin hoped to follow his example in England.

In all this the great English earl reckoned without the quiet determination of a king, apparently weak and easily led, but whose lack of strength was physical rather than mental or spiritual.

The first occasion of conflict between king and earl was the appointment, in 1044, to the See of London, of the Norman,

Bishop Robert of Jumièges, "who possessed the king's confidence as no other possessed it."

The appointment, owing probably to Godwin's influence, was very ill received. No chronicler records it, though they mention other ecclesiastical changes of that year. Within the next two years the earl was to receive another shock to his aims and ambitions. His son, Earl Sweyn, led away by the wild passions of the Viking stock from whence he came on his mother's side, carried off by force the Abbess of the Convent of Leominster, and would have made her his wife. The Churchmen, not at all inclined to overlook any wrong done by the hostile House of Godwin, represented the unhappy affair to the king in its blackest light, and the young earl was outlawed. Fleeing overseas to Bruges, Sweyn bided his time, while his dismayed family managed to retain his earldom by dividing it between his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn.

Two years later came the chance for which Sweyn waited. A petty war had broken out between the Emperor Henry III. and his feudal vassals of Lorraine, three of whom, Duke Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, Dietrich, Count of Holland, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, threw off his yoke and invaded his territory. The prompt measures of Henry, aided by the thunders of papal excommunication from Leo IX., soon crushed the first two rebels; but Baldwin of Flanders tried to hold his own. When the Emperor prepared to descend upon him, the English Edward was asked to "watch the seas" in case the Count should escape; and Edward, with an old grudge to repay against the man who had harboured the pirates who still harassed the English coasts, was very ready so to do. Baldwin quickly submitted to Henry, "giving him all he would," but the affair had other consequences for Englishmen.

Taking advantage of the unrest, Sweyn Godwinson appeared with eight ships in the harbour of Bosham, his father's estate in Sussex. Mildly enough, he asked for pardon and "grith" (protection) from the king, who received him kindly and even gave him a grant of his lost lands. But these had been already given to his brother Harold and to Beorn, his cousin, and neither would give them up. So the young earl sought audience of his father and of Beorn, both still encamped at Pevensey, and begged the latter to intercede

with Edward for a fresh grant of land. To this young Beorn agreed, and forthwith rode off with his cousin, taking only three servants with him. But instead of riding to Sandwich, where the king was still "watching the seas," Sweyn turned the horses' heads to Bosham, explaining that he wished to show Beorn to his men as a proof that he had at least one influential friend. The earl hesitated, turned aside, refused to go aboard. Immediately he was seized, bound, and carried to the ship, which promptly set sail. Some days after the body of Beorn was put ashore at Dartmouth for burial.

This story illustrates the wild life of the time; it also proves the existence either of a strong feeling against the House of Godwin or of a strangely high moral tone in a country which must have been well used to deeds of violence. We read that the whole of England rose in indignation against Sweyn, and king and army publicly branded him as "nithing": most disgraceful of epithets. Even his own shipmen deserted him, and he barely escaped to Bruges with his life. But the most astonishing part of the story has yet to be told. In the very next year we find Bishop Ealdred of Worcester, on his way to attend a Council in Italy, passing through Bruges with a message of pardon for the sinner, and in 1050 Sweyn was "inlawed" and received the earldom of Beorn. In all this the increasing influence of Godwin, as statesman and "prime minister," is seen, but his policy in getting his crime-stained son recalled was to react shortly upon his own head.

§ 2. **The Party of the "Foreigners"** (1051–1058).—During the past five years the antagonism between Earl Godwin and Robert, now Archbishop of Canterbury, had increased apace. Each aimed at ascendancy over the king; each had gradually assumed the position of leader of the two parties into which England was now divided. On the one side was the "English" party, headed by Godwin, lately much weakened by the behaviour of his son; on the other a band of Normans, in close touch with the king. One of these latter was Archbishop of Canterbury, another Bishop of London, a third, Ralph, the king's nephew, had been made Earl of Hereford. The mother of this Earl Ralph had been married twice and was now the wife of Eustace, Count of Boulogne; and it was his rash action that set the sleeping feud between Norman and Englishman aflame.

Count Eustace, with his bands of feudal retainers, had

visited Edward's Court, and on his way back had sent "foregoers" into Dover to arrange for quarters. "And when they came hither," says the Chronicle, "they would 'inn' themselves where they would. And one man would enter the dwelling of a householder against his will, and so the householder slew him. Then Eustace and his companions went to horse and hastened to that householder and slew him on his own hearth, and also more than twenty men of that town. And the burhmen slew nineteen of his, and wounded as many more."

At once the count hurried off to Gloucester to lay his grievance before the king, who, with remarkable want of judgment, straightway ordered Godwin, as earl of that district, to ravage and destroy the whole town of Dover. But now Godwin showed himself a better Englishman than courtier. He absolutely refused to destroy his own "following" on the accusation of a Norman count, and, when summoned to answer before the Court at Gloucester for his disobedience, determined to make the matter a test case for or against the foreign party. He summoned his shire levies; Harold and Sweyn followed with theirs. But Edward had been beforehand. When Godwin appeared on the scene he found himself forestalled by a large and loyal army, gathered by the Northern earls, Leofric and Siward, and by Earl Ralph of Hereford, a newcomer on the scene. Only the mediation of good Earl Leofric prevented the rival *fyrds* from flying at each other's throats in a struggle in which national unity would have perished. As it was, the principal actors in the drama moved in full force to London. At once the king showed his distrust of the Godwin clique by refusing safe conducts till bail for good behaviour had been given by the earl's sons. Sweyn refused, and was once more outlawed; and the king's Norman advisers, pressing their advantage, made it clear that a crushing humiliation was in store for the old earl. Taking horse that night, Godwin carried his whole family off to Bosham. Thence Harold and his young brother Leofwin made their way to Ireland, while Godwin and the rest sailed for Flanders, to find protection under Count Baldwin, whose daughter had just married Tostig, Godwin's third son. Immediately after this the Witan outlawed the whole family, and insisted on the removal to a convent of Edith, the Lady of the English, Edward's queen.

In that same year of stirring events (1051), which had thus witnessed the complete collapse of a power almost royal in

its scope, there falls upon the scene the ominous shadow of a figure whose name within the next twenty years was to be in the mouth of all men. The young Duke William, then twenty-four years of age, had already, by a stormy career of victory, made himself not only ruler of Normandy but a power to be reckoned with on the Continent. Now he appeared, "with a great company of Frenchmen," at a Court that was, for the time, completely under Norman influence. That he induced Edward to offer him the succession to the Crown we can hardly doubt, any more than we can doubt his contempt for such institutions as the English Witan, or for the choice of the English people in the matter.

If Duke William thought that opposition from the Godwin party had been swept away, he must have been as puzzled by the sudden revolution in its fortune as was the Chronicler at the swiftness of its fall. "That would any man, that in England was, have thought wonderlike . . . that he (Godwin) was so upheaven, as if he wielded of the king and all England; and his sons were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter to the king bewedded and bewifed." The actual causes for Godwin's return were no doubt the Witan's fear of the foreign party induced by the memory of Eustace, and the reminder given by the appearance of Norman William. Frequent harryings from Irish and Flemish ships spoke of the intervention on the exiles' behalf of rulers elsewhere; and when Griffith of Wales struck a rapid blow at Hereford, Earl Ralph's domain, the Godwinsons hesitated no longer. In the autumn of that year the old earl himself sailed up the Thames to Southwark; the Norman archbishop and bishop fled oversea "in a crazy ship," the "English" party triumphed. "In that year friendship was made fast between Godwin's family and the king, and the Witan outlawed all Frenchmen that aforetime made unlaw, deemed ill doom, and red unrede in the land."

One triumph yet was left to the patriotic party, a triumph that Earl Godwin was not to see. He died at the Eastertide of the following year (1053), but during the next thirteen years his son Harold was to rise to royal power. Nominally, at least, he subdued the turbulent Welsh chieftains, who, for some time past, had harassed the English borderland. And when Earl Siward passed away, worn out by his victorious expeditions against Macbeth, the murderer of his brother-

in-law Duncan, it was the influence of Harold that made Tostig, son of Godwin, Earl of Northumbria. Between them, save for a part of Mercia, held by Alfgar, son of Leofric, the Godwinsons held the country, and though Harold's position was weakened slightly by a Northumbrian revolt that drove Tostig into exile, this did not prevent the Witan from appointing Godwin's most popular son to be king after Edward's death. "And now," says the Chronicle, "was Harold hallowed as king; but little stillness did he enjoy the while that he wielded the kingdom."

His reign was brief indeed. Almost at the moment that he heard of the threat of imminent invasion from the stark Duke across the Channel, to whom he had once, under compulsion, promised to help to the kingship of England, came the news of the return of his exiled brother Tostig to Northumbria, in full equipment of invasion, with Harold Hardrada of Norway and his fleet of pirate ships at his back. The sons of Alfgar, who held the province, fled before his advance, and there was nothing for it but to make a rapid march northwards when he should have been concentrating his forces to guard the Channel shores. By the time Tostig and Harold of Norway lay dead at Stamford Bridge, Harold's crown was lost.

§ 3. **The Church and Social Conditions.**—The story of Earl Godwin and his sons, and their vain attempt to shut the door in the face of the great oncoming wave of Norman influence, is only important as an example of the wild legacy left by the Vikings to this land. Yet through it all runs the strong cord of the Catholic Church, binding and loosing, making its power felt in every quarter. At one moment we see the miscreant Sweyn atoning for a bloodstained career by a barefoot pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and by a lonely death in Eastern lands. At another we see Earl Harold, a shipwrecked captive in the hands of Duke William of Normandy, forced to take an oath of allegiance over a casket of holy relics; and the sequel, when, after Senlac Field, even the English, who loved him, regarded his fall as the natural result of the breaking of a sacred oath.

It is a strange fact that the king who ruled for twenty-four years out of this turbulent period was at once the gentlest and most popular of English sovereigns. For many a year the "laws and customs of good King Edward" remained the ideal of the English people, though, oddly enough, we hear

of no new legislation during his reign. His more fitting memorial was the beautiful Abbey Church at Westminster, built by him at the command of Pope Leo IX., the germ of the present Westminster Abbey.

Grades of Society in later Anglo-Saxon Times.—During this period the ancient institutions of which we have already spoken held their place, and only developed somewhat to meet the altered conditions of the time. Thus, while the old social order held good, marked distinctions between the classes appear. The freemen were rapidly losing whatever rights had once been theirs, as more power fell into the hands of the thegns and earls. Small owners "become landless vassals, holding at best an allotment, for which, as *geneats*, or, as we should say, 'farm labourers,' they were bound not only to the soil on which they were born, but had to perform certain duties for their lord." "He must ride and drive; lead loads, work and find provisions; reap and mow; set and cut hedges; pay kirkshot (church money) and alms fee; keep head ward (watch over king's quarters if he were in the district) and horse ward; run errands, be it far or near, just as he is bid." He was, in fact, little better than a slave. The *ceorl*, or free paying tenant, had almost disappeared, for we get only one mention of him in a document describing the social constitution of a large manor of this period—the *bee-ceorl*, whose freedom is doubtful, since the lord takes his goods at his death.

The holder of the manor is the thegn; his dependents may be roughly grouped under three heads. The *geneat* we have already described. The *cotsetla* is a freeman, for he pays "hearth-penny," plough-alms (or, possibly, Peter's pence), "as every freeman should," and kirkshot at Martinmas. He works five acres at least for himself, and in return labours for his lord every Monday in the year and "three days at harvest." The *gebur* holds a "yard" of land (probably thirty acres), for which he pays a small rent in money and a larger one in labour and goods. He has to plough three acres for his lord, besides an acre a week in autumn, and extra "boon-ploughing" if he wants more grass. At first sight he seems much like the old free tenant farmer, but complete freedom is not his, for all his goods go to his lord at his death. The actual difference between *gebur* and *geneat* is merely that the duties of the former are limited, of the latter unlimited. Under

various names these three classes of "tenants" appear again and again during this and the following periods.[1]

Above the thegns we get a small aristocratic class, composed of the archbishops and bishops, about fourteen in all; five or six earls, about eleven abbots, and twenty-four king's thegns or court officials. These would compose the Witan, which was a kind of Privy Council, quite unrepresentative, but possessing weighty powers in the making of laws, the appointment of earls and bishops, the imposition of taxes, the levying of forces.

At its head was the king, no longer a chieftain among chieftains, but holding supreme power. His revenue was drawn from the yearly rents of the chief towns, from fines, from forfeitures, from harbour dues, and tolls on certain merchandise. His "peace" prevented warfare at all times within a certain distance of his abode. "Whoso fought in his house lost his life." He could claim an oath of allegiance from every one of his subjects; he could appoint both bishops and earls. In these later days Church and State were so woven together that they were but two sides of one fabric. The Church was the spiritual, as the *fyrd* was the military organization of the people. The Mass priest ranked as a thegn, and bishops and abbots ruled their domains as secular lords, reserving to themselves the jurisdiction over their clergy for purely spiritual offences, though for ordinary crimes the latter were tried in the Hundred or Shire Court.

At the opposite end of the scale stands the class of slaves, drawn from the ranks of freemen who had sold themselves for debt or been deprived of their rights for crime, or were prisoners of war. Exchanging the sword and lance for the bill and the goad, the new-made slave was forced to kneel before his master, and to place his head under his hand. Henceforth, he might be sold in open market at four times the price of an ox, if he stole he was stoned to death, or, if a woman, burnt at the stake by fellow-slaves. His chief hope of future freedom lay in the charity of his master, since most bishops and pious women were wont to free at their death every slave who had lost his liberty by misfortune or crime. Few managed to buy back their freedom. On the other hand, the Church saw to it that no master should ill-treat his slaves; and, as we have seen, the exportation of

[1] For a full description of these classes and their numerous sub-classes, see the interesting description in Ramsay's *Foundations of England*, chap. xxi., vol. i.

English slaves was strictly forbidden, lest they lost their faith in heathen surroundings.

EXERCISES

1. What do you consider the real importance of the policy of Earl Godwin ?
2. What strikes you as the most dramatic event in the story of the House of Godwin ?
3. In what respects does the reign of Edward the Confessor form a fitting prologue to the Norman period ?
4. Sketch briefly the grades of society in late Anglo-Saxon days.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

A.D.

41. Conquest of Britain by Rome.
410. Roman Legions withdrawn.
449. Settlement of Jutes in Kent.
477. Coming of South Saxons.
495. Coming of West Saxons.
520. Coming of the Angles.
596. Arrival of St. Augustine.
613. Battle of Chester.
617. Edwin King of Northumbria.
634. Supremacy of Northumbria under Oswald.
664. Synod of Whitby.
690. Ine King of Wessex.
716. Supremacy of Mercia.
757. Offa King of Mercia.
787. First coming of the Danes.
802. Supremacy of Wessex under Egbert.
839. Ethelwulf King of Wessex.
851. First Danish Settlement.
871. Alfred the Great.
878. Victory of Ethandune.
Treaty of Wedmore.
901. Edward the Elder.
The Danelagh conquered.
924. Athelstan.
937. Battle of Brunanburh.
940–959. Edmund, Edred, Edwy.
959. Edgar. Influence of Dunstan.
975. Edward the Martyr.
979. Ethelred II.
994. First invasion of Sweyn.
1014. Conquest of England by Sweyn.
1016. Edmund Ironside.
1017. Canute King of England.
Rise of Godwin.
1040. Restoration of English line. Edward the Confessor.
1052. Fall of the Godwins.
1066. Harold, son of Godwin, King.
Battle of Senlac, or Hastings.
William of Normandy crowned King.

THE PERIOD OF NORMAN RULE

CHAPTER V

THE AWAKENING OF ENGLAND UNDER NORMAN RULE (1050–1150)

CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND RULERS

England.	*Western Empire.*	*France.*
William I., 1066	Henry IV., 1056	Philip I., 1060
William II., 1087	Henry V., 1106	
Henry I., 1100	Lothair II., 1125	Louis VI., 1108
Stephen, 1135	Conrad III., 1138	
Henry II., 1154	Frederic I., 1152	Louis VII., 1137

	Papacy.	
Alexander II., 1061	Gelasius II., 1118	Lucius II., 1144
Gregory VII., 1073	Callixtus II., 1119	Eugenius III., 1145
Victor III., 1087	Honorius II., 1124	Anastasius IV., 1153
Urban II., 1088	Innocent II., 1130	Adrian IV., 1154
Paschal II., 1099	Celestine II., 1143	Alexander III., 1159

General Survey.—The period of Norman rule in England was to last, roughly speaking, for the space of one hundred years. In Europe this new and vigorous race had already been stirring since the beginning of the eleventh century, bringing about a rush of vitality that was to help to sweep away the Dark Ages and to bring about the bright dawn of the Mediæval Era.

In Gaul, a century earlier still, barbarian pirates from Scandinavia had settled in the territory north of the Seine, a fertile and well-peopled Roman province, where they intermarried, occupied the land, and very quickly absorbed the faith and civilization of the people among whom they dwelt. So far it was merely the story of Canute over again, but with a difference. The rule of the Northmen in England had been brief and, on the whole, disadvantageous. Within the land of the Franks it came not only to stay but to develop into a new and remarkable European power. Permeated with the

best of Roman Gallic civilization, Gallic in their short and sturdy stature, and in their vigorous, lucid mental qualities, the Normans were yet a separate race possessing characteristics of their own. Their strong military genius, their skill in organization, made Normandy the "model state" of the confused Frankish kingdom; conquered Sicily and South Italy; subdued and organized an England left, by the upheaval of years of pirate incursions and internal strife, in sore need of welding, cohesion, and awakening to a new spiritual and mental vitality. "A fine and crafty race, finely apparelled, delicate in food, inured to war. . . . Ever ready to use stratagem when strength fails. They live in large buildings, envy their equals, wish to excel their superiors, and plunder their subjects though they defend them from others. They are loyal to their lords . . . hospitable and religious, and are given to weigh treachery by its chances of success."[1] Such is the account of them given by an English chronicler, an account tainted by prejudice, but showing a half-unwilling admiration for a people whose genius for order and discipline was a revelation to the Englishman of the eleventh century.

Of the Conqueror himself, the man who had already subdued the rebel vassals of Normandy, made good his title to the province, and extended his sway over the fair land of Maine, the Chronicle declares: "He was a very wise man, and more powerful, dignified, and strong than any of his predecessors. He was mild to good men . . . and over all measure severe to men who gainsaid his will. . . . Among other things is not to be forgotten the good peace he made in this land, so that one who had any confidence in himself might traverse his realm with his bosom full of gold. And no man dared stay another though he had done ever so much evil against him."[2]

To William, England was but a province of a Norman Empire stretching from the Loire to the Tees; but it was to be a model province, ruled by a system centred in himself, with all the disorderly elements in it eliminated with ruthless severity.

§ 1. **Norman Acquisition and Conquest.**—The Conquest itself may be briefly summarized. There was first the rapid stroke at Senlac, where King Harold fell, and which left the

[1] Henry of Huntingdon. [2] William of Malmesbury.

road to London open. So sudden was the shock that neither North nor South showed any vital resistance. The Witan, it is true, made hasty choice of Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, as king, and called on the sons of Alfgar, the only two earls of importance who had survived Senlac, to defend the walls of London. But treachery lay within; the earls decamped, Archbishop Stigand threw himself on the mercy of the Conqueror, and William was crowned king by the assent of both Norman and Englishman in Westminster Abbey at the Christmas of 1066.

Remembering the lack of communication in the land, one would not expect the new ruler to be readily accepted in all parts of England. The absence of the new king in his Norman duchy was the signal for risings in West and North, and it is not surprising to find the Danish King Sweyn appearing on the scene, sailing up the Humber and seizing York, in the hope of repeating the history of the past fifty years. None of these attempts at revolt had the smallest chance of success against the organized forces of the Normans. The sequel was as immediate as it was terrible. To prevent further trouble in the North, the whole country between York and Durham was devastated. "It was made impossible for men to live through a hundred square miles," says the Chronicle. Flocks, herds, tools, grain, all were destroyed, no doubt with the idea of starving out any further attempt of the Danes.

The Scottish King Malcolm was the next to be forced to his knees; and after he had been made to do homage for his crown, William had but to crush an attempt of his own feudal barons to play the part their ancestors had played in Normandy, and his conquest was then complete.

§ 2. **The Feudal System.**—Turning from his destructive to his constructive policy, we find an organization imposed by William on his recently acquired "province," the idea of which was by no means new, though it now took on a fresh aspect.

Feudalism itself was the outcome of the long struggle between civilized and uncivilized powers which characterized the Dark Ages. It has been well defined as "the passing of actual government from the hands of the old Roman provincial centres of administration into the hands of each small local society and its lord." [1]

[1] H. Belloc, *Europe and the Faith*.

Owing to the necessity of combining against a common foe, these small local societies, towns and villages, castles, valleys, tended to group themselves together under the protection of the great landowners, the most powerful of whom became the overlord of the other petty rulers. Independence was by no means lost—it was rather increased by this growth of "localization"; and the result was a reorganization of society. In place of a number of large estates, worked by slaves and administered by imperial government, we get a society of fighting nobles, linked together as lord and overlord, and supported by villeins, free to some extent, but bound to render service as payment for their land.

In the latter part of the fighting Dark Ages, when every big landowner lived in his saddle, this system became closely bound up with the need of providing an army at call. This might be done by keeping up a small standing army on each large estate, or by the landowner making a grant of portions of his estate on condition of military service in time of war. Both methods were employed, and thus in a sense every "baron" became the owner of a regiment.

On the Continent this had already led to the acquisition of immense power by the nobles, a power which was checked in England by a master-stroke of policy. By directing that the feudal oath should be made directly to him, William the Norman brought all classes of his subjects into direct touch with the Crown. As says the Oath of Salisbury, 1086, "They swore that they would be faithful to the king against all other men." Hence arose the "Feudal Incidents," all tending to strengthen the hands of the king.

If the king or other feudal landlord would make his eldest son a knight, give his eldest daughter in marriage, or redeem himself from captivity, he could demand a certain sum of money from his tenants.

If the heir to a certain estate were under age at his accession, the king or the tenant-in-chief (who held his land by the king's grant) could claim him as his ward and all rights over the estate. He could also dispose of this ward in marriage to the highest bidder, and claim a fixed sum of money when he succeeded to his lands. If a tenant died without heirs the land "escheated"—*i.e.*, went back to the Crown. If he were attainted of treason or felony his blood was "corrupt," his heirs had no rights to succession, king or lord took the estate.

No doubt these arrangements were much modified in the case of the smaller tenants and were not always fully developed in every district; but they had a marked effect upon the land. Although her local courts and customs were untouched, England now received a central, in place of a local, administration, which brought every part and detail of the country under the control of the king. The outward sign and symbol of this was the Domesday Book.

The result of a searching survey of land and property was a "book" which was at once a land register and a valuation roll—that is, it contained minute information as to what lands there were, by what right they were held, what *geld* they paid, and what resources they possessed. Evidence as to these things was to be taken on oath from sheriffs, landowners, priests, bailiffs, and six selected *villeins* from each township. "So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made that there was not a single hide or rood of land nor an ox nor a cow nor a swine was left out of the writ," complains a chronicler who "thought it shame to tell of that which he thought no shame to do." But the advantages of such information are obvious. Even in modern times it is most valuable as giving us a complete picture of the England of that day. If we read between the lines, such an extract as the following, for example, is crammed with dramatic interest:

"*In Basingstoke Hundred.*—Geoffrey, chamberlain to the king's daughter, holds Hatch Warren of the king. . . . There is land for 3 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs and 2 villeins with 1 plough. There are a church and 11 serfs. Odo de Winceastre claims this "hide" and says that he had it on mortgage for 10 pounds from Alsi (the former owner) with permission of King William, and that he is therefore deprived of it unjustly. But Geoffrey holds it of the king for the service he performed to his daughter Matilda."

And again, "Edwin holds Oakhanger and says that he bought it of King William; but the jury of the Shire knows nothing of this."

From extracts such as these we may construct our early mediæval England. *Geneats* and *cotsetas* (cottars) are now included under the name *villeins*—the one merely works a larger piece of land than the other. Very small rents were paid for their fields, but the old conditions of service were slightly heavier. In springtime the villein ploughed

four acres for his lord, and used his own oxen for three days in winter and spring, and one in summer. He either worked for three days a week on his lord's land or paid a "toll," such as a hen and a sitting of eggs, or a skep of honey. He must also obey his lord's call to arms. On his part, though he was bound to the land, his position was a safe and not unpleasant one. His "cot" was but a shed, with a loft above, but the village or manor on which he lived was self-supporting, and he had no anxiety as to rising prices or lack of food. He grew his own crops on his strip of land in the open fields, much in the same way as a modern allotment holder; fed his pigs in the beech woods, grazed his cows on the common land, dried their flesh for winter use, and used their skins for his jerkin. Cheese, eggs, fruit, honey were plentiful, and if his landlord was a just man, "not skinning his peasants like live eels as the manner of some is," his lot was by no means unhappy. But he was not fully a freeman; and at his death his lord could claim all his hard-won goods.

§ 3. **The Norman Castle and the Norman Baron.**—In its military aspect the New Feudalism was, of course, the conscription system of its day, and was the means of keeping an army at call. Out of it grew the great Norman castles, built first of wood but afterwards of stone, which remain to this time. To enter a typical castle of the period one would pass a gate-house with drawbridge, containing tiny cells for the guard and a stone staircase to a "gateroom" overhead, from which the portcullis was wound up or let down. Passing through the gatehouse one entered the "bailey," a large enclosed space containing storehouses and stables, workshops and barracks, armoury and granary, to provide for the needs of the garrison, squires, pages, and servants of the feudal lord. Crossing this space the keep is reached, built on a raised mound and surrounded by the moat or ditch, which was extended also below the high walls enclosing the bailey. Climbing the steep steps that lead to the entrance of the keep, the lower part of which was used as a storeroom, one reached the guardroom, above which is the hall, and above that a loft used for sleeping purposes. A chapel was nearly always found on one of these floors or on top of a "forebuilding" which covered in the staircase. Within the great hall, most of the indoor waking life of the baron and his retainers was passed. It was furnished by trestle tables and benches, with

a big chair or seat for the "lord." The floor was strewn with rushes, mingled with the bones and refuse thrown from the table during a meal. The narrow windows, empty of glass, could be closed by wooden shutters at night. The only "chimney" was a "flue" in the thickness of the wall, which led into the open air behind a buttress.

The life of the Norman baron is painted for us by a writer of the time in his description of Hugh the Wolf, Earl of Chester, in the days of William II.:

"A violent, loose-living but generous barbarian, honouring self-control and a religious life in others, though he had little of it himself; living for eating and drinking, for wild and wasteful hunting, by which he damaged his own and his neighbours' lands; for murderous wars against the troublesome Welsh; for free indulgence without much reference to right or wrong; very open-handed; so fat that he could hardly stand; very fond of the noise and riotous company of a great following of retainers, old and young, yet keeping about him also a simple-minded religious chaplain, who did his best, though the odds were much against him, to awaken a sense of righ in his wild flock."

Such was the rough old baron who, in reparation for his sins, set up a Priory of Benedictine monks at St. Werburgh's, Chester, and, for the purpose, made choice of that gentlest of priests, Abbot Anselm of Bec.

For these Normans were, above all things, loyal sons of the Church. The substitution of the learned Norman Lanfranc, Anselm's predecessor at Bec, as Archbishop of Canterbury in place of the English Stigand, uncanonically appointed by an anti-pope, was an unmixed boon for England in days when her prelates and clergy had lost all claim to learning. Within a few years every see was filled by Norman bishops, picked men, chosen by one who ever had an "eye for a man."

"In choosing abbots and bishops," says the chronicler, "the king considered not so much men's riches or power as their holiness and wisdom. He called together bishops and abbots and other wise counsellors in any vacancy, and by their advice enquired very carefully who was the best and wisest man, as well in divine things as in worldly, to rule the Church of God."

§ 4. **Ecclesiastical Policy of William I.**—With the blessing of Pope Alexander II. upon his banner, William had come

to England with all the spiritual forces of Christendom at his back; and for the reform of the Church in the country he worked hand in hand with Lanfranc with unsparing zeal. It was, in its small way, a reflection of a movement that was stirring the whole of Christendom in that day, the restoration of discipline to a sorely disorganized Church by the strong hand of Hildebrand, who as Pope Gregory VII. sat, since the year 1073, in the Chair of Peter.

The two aims of William in his ecclesiastical policy were important. By bringing in Norman bishops and clergy and by reintroducing the order and discipline of ecclesiastical Europe, he safely bridged the threatened gap between England and the heart of Christendom and made the Unity of the Church an assured thing.

When this was safeguarded, he increased and supported in every way the independent position of the Church in the country, so that, in time of need, it could be used by the Crown against the secular nobles.

Thus he appointed an ecclesiastical "justiciar," an office somewhat resembling the modern Lord Chief Justice; he placed Church dignitaries in the chief offices of state, including the important position of chancellor; and in several instances he moved the Cathedrals from the smaller to the larger towns in order to give the bishop jurisdiction over a larger section of the population.

Yet, with all his loyalty, there was a hint, even in his days, of the coming struggle between the temporal and the spiritual powers. In a period that had seen the conflicting claims of pope and anti-pope, it was but natural that, as his chronicler says, "he would not suffer any authority within his realm to accept the Roman pontiff as apostolic father except at his bidding." But when Pope Gregory demanded homage for his domain of England, the stark king refused. "He had never found that any of his predecessors in this realm had done so, nor would he do it himself."

Thus we get a hint of the great quarrel between Emperor and Pope, then about to convulse the whole of Christendom, a quarrel to which we shall refer again in the next chapter.

§ 5. **Norman Administration of Justice.**—Though he left the smaller courts of justice much as he found them, William made certain changes in the character of the Witan. Formerly this had consisted of earls, bishops and abbots, and "king's

thegns," who held some office about his person. In Norman days, every "tenant-in-chief"—that is, all who held their land, legally speaking, direct from the king—had the right to attend, not, of course, as independent law-makers, but as "advisers" to the Crown. This and other changes made during the reign of Henry I. are only important as forming the basis for the Great Charter of 1215; though they are interesting as foretelling the formation of a future Parliament, modelled upon an organization long in working order in the great religious houses in Europe. Thus the Witan, like the monastic Chapter, had to meet so many times a year; to act as a Court of Appeal from lower courts, to elect the king on the sovereign's death.

A new Court—emphatically the *King's* Court—was to sit continually, and to consist of five officers of the royal household (the old "king's thegns")—constable, chamberlain, steward, marshal, and butler; and also of three officers named by the king: the justiciar, the chancellor, and the treasurer, who held the royal purse. This court formed the king's "privy council," acted as a final court of appeal, and looked after the finances of the Court. These last were collected by sheriffs, who acted as the king's representatives in each shire. Thus the king was represented in this administration, but the people not at all.

This arrangement would have led to a large number of cases, sent "on appeal" from the local courts, being carried at great expense and inconvenience to London or Winchester or wherever the king happened to be. Hence Henry appointed judges "in eyre"—*i.e.*, on circuit—who travelled about the country and inspected the proceedings of the local courts. Thus was another link forged between the king and the people, and another aspect of "centralization" enforced. But it would be quite misleading to think of the king himself as stationary in any sense, and a brief glance at one of his royal progresses tells us more of the condition of England than this record of courts and magistrates. In the days of Henry I., as in those of his brother and father, it was the custom for the king to move from place to place, holding his court now at Windsor, now at Gloucester, sometimes at Winchester, then in London. With him went a crowd of courtiers, officers and servants, clergy and knights. "Whatsoever tract of land they passed through," says Eadmer,

the biographer of Anselm, "they spoiled, they wasted, they destroyed. What they found in the houses which they invaded, and did not consume, they took to market to sell for themselves or they burnt it; or if it was drink, after washing their horses' feet with it, they poured it abroad. Their cruelties to the fathers of families, their insults to their wives and daughters it shames me to remember; and so, whenever the king's coming was known beforehand, they fled from their houses, and to save themselves and what was theirs, as far as they could, hid themselves in the woods."

Lastly, we may notice that the Normans often put aside the use of legal courts and settled their disputes by the "judicial combat," in which the accuser and the accused fought for hours with weapons like small pickaxes, made of horn, until one cried "Craven," and could fight no more. He was at once condemned as guilty and hanged.

EXERCISES

1. What do you consider the most important effect of the Norman Conquest on England?
2. Write a brief essay on the Norman character and achievements.
3. Make a plan of a Norman Castle.
4. What important changes—(*a*) ecclesiastical, (*b*) political—were made during the Norman period.
5. Explain, with illustrations from imaginary instances, the working of the Feudal System.

THE PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH IN ENGLAND—THE TWELFTH CENTURY (1087–1200)

General Survey.—It has been well said that three great movements so stirred the sleeping germs of life in the Dark Ages, that the period awoke to find itself the Middle Ages, "in the midst of an intense and active civilization, the highest and best ever known."[1]

Two of these movements, the impetus of Norman organization and the reforming ideals of Gregory VII., we have already briefly noted. Out of both of these grew the third, the March of the Crusades, and all that great moral and spiritual institution known by the name of Chivalry.

All these were closely connected with each other, with the history of Europe as a whole, and with that of England in particular. From the time when Hildebrand, the monk of Cluny, became Pope Gregory VII., seven years after the Norman conquest of this land, he had been in close touch with the Normans of Southern Italy. It was Robert Guiscard who delivered him from captivity in the Castle of St. Angelo, and who, in so doing, nearly burnt Rome to the ground; and it was the Norman fighting men who responded most readily to the Pope's trumpet call to a Crusade for which Europe was not yet ready.

It was the zeal for reform of this great Pope, also, which embroiled England in the great Investiture quarrel which brought the lay head of the Roman Empire to his knees at Canossa, in abject need to make his peace with the spiritual ruler of Christendom.

It is this permeating influence of the Church in every department of life that we shall study as the keynote of the

[1] H. Belloc, *Europe and the Faith.*

Mediæval Period; and, owing to the reopening of the doors of Europe through the Norman Conquest, we shall find it operating as fully in England as in Italy. In those days nothing was *national*, in the sense of being insular and exclusive. All was *international*, since every important institution came through the medium of the Universal Church. The Universities founded by that Church were crowded with lads of every race, so that she was forced, as it were, to teach in Latin, her own familiar tongue. The "scholastic" teaching she gave them was the result of an international effort to give Europe a philosophy, half Greek but wholly Christian, that should fit the mediæval mind to contend with the subleties of Islam. Before the eyes of the Western world she set a model organization—the true ideal State—in her monasteries with their chapter "parliaments," their social life, their co-operative work.

Moreover, it was the Mediæval Church that drew up and enforced the whole moral code of Europe, and formed a court of appeal for all matters that affected social life, such as the marriage laws, the rate of usury, the treatment of slaves. She was the most truly democratic institution of the day, since within her borders the son of the serf had equal rights with the son of the earl. And she was an example of the finest side of the "centralization" theory introduced by Norman rule. For, just as the king was concerned, nominally at least, with the smallest sub-tenant who paid him homage, so the Church, through the close personal relation of penitent and priest, priest and bishop, bishop and Pope, brought her most insignificant children into touch with the spiritual ruler of Catholic Christendom.

Before dealing more fully with the influence of the Church on the social life of the twelfth century, we will turn to the two main movements that affected England during this period—the Crusades, and the struggle for the principle of the freedom of the Church, an echo of the Investiture contest in Europe.

§ 1. **The Crusades.**—The whole stirring story of this movement, throughout its course of two centuries, cannot be fully told here. We can but take a "bird's-eye view," before studying its chief effects on our history. The circumstances out of which the Crusades arose were remarkable. A hitherto unknown camel-driver, Mohammed, had, in the

early years of the seventh century, taught a new faith to the degenerate Arabs of his day, the keynote of which was *Islam*, "submission to Allah, the one God, and a firm effort after righteousness."

In course of years this apparently simple religion developed into a fanatic system, strongly anti-Christian, which demanded of its followers a fierce ideal of conquest and aggression that made strong appeal to the Eastern world in early mediæval days. Throughout the East it spread with extraordinary rapidity, until the empire of Islam embraced the whole of the Orient, surged up to the gates of Constantinople, over Northern Africa, and into Southern Spain. Jerusalem and the rest of the Holy Land had, by the twelfth century, been in the hands of the "infidels" for more than four hundred years; and now that an influx of Seljukian Turks, fierce and fanatic rulers bent on putting an end to the frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Places, ruled, instead of the milder Caliphs of an earlier day, "the condition of Palestine had become a source of sorrow and shame to Christendom." In 1095 a Council of the Church under Pope Urban II. called on all Christians to rescue the Holy City. At Clermont the Pope made his stirring appeal, and the response was extraordinary. "*Deus vult! Deus vult!*" cried the vast multitude. "The impulse seemed to set not armies but whole populations in motion." Peter the Hermit was but a type of those heroic souls who went forth, barefoot and penniless, to stir all Europe to the fight.

The kings of those days were too busy, perhaps too cautious, to obey the call, but a crowd of lesser princes, led by the Frankish prince Godfrey of Boulogne, set out for the Holy Land. Amongst them was the son of William the Conqueror, Robert of Normandy, who gladly pledged his Norman duchy to his faithless brother William Rufus in order to raise funds for his army. Jerusalem was captured by these first Crusaders, and a kingdom was maintained there for about a century. This was the most glorious record of all the nine Crusades. They ended in 1270 with the fine, but vain, attempt of Louis IX. (St. Louis) of France; and though to a superficial view they were a gigantic failure, their effect upon Europe was both deep and permanent.

To begin with, they were the outward expression of that strange new spirit of mingled religious and feudal origin

known as Chivalry. This had its roots in the best side of the organization of feudalism. Loyalty and devotion to one's overlord, knightly duties, stately combats, mutual aid and protection—all these ideals were bound up with that institution, yet all these might have been found in it in the days of heathendom. It was the work of the Church to take these things, to "christen" them by giving them spiritual motives and divine direction, and the outcome was a spirit of religious zeal that might well stir the springs of Christendom. Religion, Honour, Courtesy, were the watchwords of the Knight of Chivalry, covering the "whole duty of a gentleman" from the cradle to the grave. The training of page and squire in reading and writing and music, in hunting and hawking and stablecraft, all led up to the solemn ceremony of knighthood. The whole night before this initiation the young candidate knelt before the altar upon which lay his new-forged armour, with sword upright between his hands, in order to dedicate himself by prayer and fasting to the service of God. The Church pronounced his solemn consecration, before his armour was buckled on. Henceforth, the knight was bound by the rules of chivalry to help the weak and oppressed, to fight for the redress of wrong, to keep the "brotherhood in arms," which bound him in love and loyalty to his overlord or to his fellow-knights. Courtesy was strictly enjoined, and respect for womankind. "To do the pleasure of ladies was his chief solace and the mainspring of his service."

The effect upon a Europe that had, in the eleventh century, only just begun to emerge from a state of savage barbarity, was extraordinary; and the great movement of the Crusades, with its mingled spirit of piety and heroic warfare, was its fittest expression.

"All wars and brigandage came to an end. The Crusades, like the rain, stilled the wind."

The Military Orders.—Another product of chivalry, or rather of the expression of the spirit of chivalry in the Crusades, was the two great military orders, the Knights Hospitallers and the Knights Templars, who were to play an important though brief part in the England of their day.

The Knights Hospitallers developed out of a body of priests and laymen under religious vows which, in the year 1092, was founded to afford hospitality and nursing to the pilgrims, and later, to the sick during the First Crusade. When

Godfrey of Boulogne visited them after the taking of Jerusalem, he found these men living a life of absolute poverty, combined with devoted care of the afflicted, under a monk known as the Guardian of the Redeemer's Poor. He endowed the Hospital of St. John with lands and money, appointed a "Grand Master" of the Order, and built it a fair church. This community developed later into a militant order, the members of which were half monks, half soldiers; for, though bound by the threefold vow of religion, they wore armour, covered with a red tunic marked with an eight-pointed white cross (known in later days as the "Maltese Cross"), and fought in defence of the Holy Sepulchre. Their number was very large (at least fifteen thousand knights at one time), and this, with their great wealth, their independence of all spiritual authority save that of the Pope, and their important work among the sick, made them one of the chief supports of chivalry. Novice houses were built by them in England in the days of Henry I., which afforded training in religion and in military exercises; but after Jerusalem was lost, the Order migrated to Malta, where it acted for many years as a useful check on Mohammedan invasion.

The Knights Templars were formed in 1118 by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, as a "perpetual sacred soldiery," to defend the Temple, as well as the brigand-infested passes on the way up to Jerusalem. Their wealth and prestige, at first an indication of the value of their work, became in later years their undoing. Jealousy of their arrogance and independence no doubt was mingled with that strange spirit of antagonism and admiration, dread and dislike which came to surround them. The Temple Church in London still bears witness to their reverent taste in architecture; and their white tunics marked with a great red cross, together with their banner of white and black, "fair and favourable to the friends of Christ, black and terrible to His foes," were well known to every mediæval Londoner. Yet no stir was made on their behalf when, in 1307, they were suppressed in England for heresy, in spite of the fact that Edward II. openly stated his belief in their innocence. In Paris, men looked on in silence while five hundred of their number were burnt. But for many a year the legend persisted that on the anniversary of that day the heads of seven Templars rose to meet a phantom in the mantle marked by the red cross, which demanded

of them, "Who shall now defend the Holy Temple? Who shall free the Sepulchre of the Lord?" To which came hollow answer back: "None! The Templars are destroyed!"

Effect of the Crusades.—The general effect of the Crusades on Christendom, apart from the ideal of chivalry, was important. In the first place, the power of the Church which had inaugurated the movement was increased. The high ideals set before the Crusaders by popes and bishops and monks became their inspiration, and in return many of the lands owned by lay Crusaders were left by them in charge of Mother Church, to be retained by her if they never returned.

Other great landowners, in order to get ready money for their enterprise, gave whole towns, and sometimes large numbers of serfs, their freedom in return for money payments; and though this may never have resulted in wholesale enfranchisement for either, it certainly resulted in a movement towards independence for both. Moreover, feudalism was distinctly weakened by the fact that very many Crusaders, both lords and retainers, left their bones to whiten on Syrian plains.

Thirdly, by opposing the advance of the Turk in Europe, and forcing him to confine his attention to retaining his lands in Syria, the Crusades prevented Europe from being swamped by a wave of Eastern religion, custom, and sentiment that would have altered for ever the character of Western civilization. Intellectually, the West may have been influenced for good by her peaceful intercourse with the Moors, the representatives of Islam in Spain, who, in comparison with the rest of Europe, were educated and refined "gentlemen," skilled in music, mathematics, medicine. But beyond an awakened interest in the study of Greek, roused not by the Islamites, but by the attention drawn to Constantinople, the Crusades influenced the trade rather than the learning of the West. During the Fourth Crusade (1203), which set out from Venice and was enthusiastically supported by the Venetians, Constantinople was actually taken by the Crusaders, and Count Baldwin of Flanders elected head of the Eastern Empire. And though this Venetian influence lasted but a short time, it left its mark on Europe. Not only did Venetian art and architecture receive an indelible stamp of classic culture: from that time the City of the Sea became the centre of a vast trade intercourse between East and West,

and the head of a great maritime Empire. Through her the silk and spices of Syria came, often by means of knight Crusaders not ashamed to act as merchants, into Europe; and through her the produce of Northern Europe, not excluding England, found a ready market in the East.

§ 2. **The Struggle for the Freedom of the Church,** 1073–1199. —In a century which, as we have seen, was most closely associated on its social side with the Church, it is startling to find the beginnings of a struggle between "Church and State." It must be remembered, however, that the State in this period was represented by the will of certain very autocratic monarchs, such as William the Red King, and Henry II., kings who were supported by a few great nobles, but certainly not by the mass of the people.

In England, moreover, the struggle was merely a reflection of the European contest between Pope and Emperor as to the limits of the rights of lay rulers over ecclesiastical matters, the typical point of dispute being as to whether kings and emperors had the power to "invest" Church dignitaries with their domains and to demand homage from them.

"The layman who should presume to confer, or the ecclesiastic who should deign to accept at his hands, an appointment to any bishopric, abbey, or other dignity, is equally under the ban of the Church." So thundered Pope Gregory in the ears of a king who justly feared that the bishop, who received temporal as well as spiritual favours from the Church, would refuse to the monarch his feudal "dues" and all that was bound up with the panoply of feudalism.

The policy of William the Norman in separating Church courts from lay courts and thus permitting clerical offenders to be tried by their own superiors, had strengthened the position taken by the papacy; the work of Lanfranc in organizing the Church in this land had tended in the same direction. But that the smooth working of their days depended upon their own personalities is clear from the sequel of events. Well might Lanfranc write to his former pupil, Anselm, then Prior of Bec in Normandy, "I beseech you to pray God in His mercy that He grant a long life to my master, the English king; for while he lives, we have peace of some sort, but after his death we cannot hope to have peace or any other good."

And so it came about. For on the death of the archbishop

in 1089, the Red King, William II., on the ground that he, as overlord, could do what he would with his own, kept the see of Canterbury vacant for nearly four years. With the aid of a clever, unscrupulous priest, Ralf the Flambard, or Firebrand, the unhappy English were first robbed and then left as sheep without a shepherd. "With tributes and exactions he not merely shaved, he flayed the people." The work of Lanfranc was entirely undone. Where he, like Gregory VII., had waged war on "simony," the buying or selling of benefices, no man was now admitted to office in the Church without payment. The tenants of Church lands were openly robbed. The monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, were still mourning over the death of Lanfranc, when Ralf appeared within their gates, and informed them that a tax must be paid on all food brought into the precincts, as upon all land belonging thereto; and that henceforth all property attached to the see of Canterbury was to form a portion of the royal demesne. It was but natural that when the cloister was thus invaded by the base spirit of a licentious Court, and when monks, confused and dismayed, were hectored and threatened on every side, no "Rule" was strictly kept. Zeal and discipline vanished, discontent and quarrelling appeared in their stead; and this happened, not only at Canterbury, but wherever a bishop's see or abbot's chair fell vacant. Bereft of the just rule of monastic landlords, wide districts suffered both in soul and body; and meantime the king, blasphemer of God and oppressor of men, held on his evil way unchecked.

But now there appeared upon the scene a gentle, scholarly monk, Anselm, Abbot of Bec, and once pupil of Lanfranc, who, most unwillingly on his own part, on a day when the Red King was stricken, as men thought, with mortal illness, was dragged into his presence and made archbishop by force.

"You are yoking a young unbroken bull to a weak old sheep," cried Anselm in dismay. "The plough of the Church surely needs a pair better matched than that!" The balance of that unequal conquest, however, was on the side of one whom a saint of later days[1] would have called a "little sheep of God." For four strenuous years he resisted the king's unlawful attempts to rob the lands of the Church. Before his first year of office was out he was involved in the "inves-

[1] St. Francis of Assisi.

titure " dispute, the crucial point of contest between Church and Crown during this period. No better illustration of its importance could be given than the state into which England had fallen under the Red King.

Let us realize fully that the crying need of those days was a system of discipline, law, and order, which would raise the moral tone of a nation, already lapsed, since the death of the stark King, William I., to a state of laxity and lawlessness. In those days there were no Acts of Parliament to enforce even outward standards of morality; this must be done by the discipline of the Church, and was only possible when the position of that Church was clear and unassailable. Anything that lowered her aspect in the eyes of the people was bound to weaken the moral condition of the land; and the risk was that this would surely happen when feudal lords placed bishop and abbot on the same footing as baron and tenant-in-chief. If, in those days, the principle which gave a king right to " invest " his ecclesiastical subject with spiritual as well as temporal powers was established, the influence of the Church, as the most powerful lever in the discipline and morals of a nation, had passed away. If the bishop became the " king's man " in its fullest sense, the moral condition of the people depended upon the will of a sovereign who, as in the case of Rufus, feared neither God nor man.

Hence the long struggle of Anselm to get investiture from the Pope, a struggle in which even the Great Council of barons sided so strongly with him that he was able to receive the pallium, the symbol of his office, from Pope Urban, without opposition save from the king alone.

Anselm, however, was a fighter not by instinct but by pressure of duty; and when he found it impossible to carry out the reforms for which he longed, he left the kingdom for a while. It was a sign of the real wish of Henry I., the Scholar King, to undo the ill wrought by the " fey " Rufus, that his first act was to recall the archbishop. The latter speedily won his goodwill by his wise decision in favour of his marriage with English Edith, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland and the saintly Margaret, and grandniece of Edward the Confessor. This marriage was opposed by the Abbess of Romsey, who declared the girl had taken the veil; and Edith had appealed to Anselm on the score that she had been forced to take it by her kinswoman, the abbess, in order to keep her from

the unwelcome attentions of the Red King. Once more the decision of the Church turned the balance, and Edith, known now by the name of Matilda, married to Henry I. in 1100 by the archbishop, became an important link in the slow forged chain between Norman conquerors and English subjects.

A year later, the burning question of spiritual privileges came up again when Henry called upon Anselm to do homage, and to accept the royal right to "invest" new bishops. Gentle as he seemed, the old archbishop was adamant over these points; and a bitter quarrel was imminent. But Henry was too practical to act the tyrant. He allowed the question to be referred to the decision of Pope Paschal II., with the following result: "On the 1st of August (1107), an assembly of bishops, abbots, and chief men of the realm, was held in London, in the king's palace. . . . Then, in the presence of Anselm, the multitude standing by, the king granted and decreed that from that time forth for ever no one should be invested in England with bishopric or abbey by staff and ring either by the king or by any lay hand. And Anselm also allowed that no one elected to a prelacy should be refused consecration on account of homage done to the king."

It was a wise compromise; for the Church, under the symbol of staff and ring, kept her rights of spiritual investiture intact; while homage, which represented the lands and revenues involved, was paid to the ruler of the country.

Monastic Revival of the Twelfth Century.—There followed, in the reign of Stephen, one of the most troublous in history, a curious religious revival, which had its roots in the reforms of Anselm of Bec. Over a hundred monasteries were founded during those miserable nineteen years, when, as an Augustinian monk of that day quaintly puts it, while Stephen's barons were building castles wherewith to harass the land, there rose also "God's castles, in which there watch the servants of the true anointed King, and where the young are exercised in war against spiritual wickedness." The result was an outburst of religious zeal. New orders arose—some, such as that founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham, peculiar to England, some, such as that of the Cistercians, the fruit of a stirring of religious life that was working all over Western Europe. The Gilbertine priories are especially interesting because they owe their origin to a runaway student, who, after his conversion, turned schoolmaster, set up a coeduca-

tion school for boys and girls, and founded thereon a double monastery of nuns and monks, which became not only a byword for zeal and good works but was the parent of many others. They are also important because their powerful alliance counted for much in the struggle between Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury and Henry II.

Over the lonely moors of the devastated North the Cistercians, or White Monks, an austere Order founded to simplify and reform the Benedictine rule, began in the early days of the twelfth century to breathe a new life. Severely plain were these abbeys and churches: frugal to the extreme their food of vegetables and fruit; but the grim tracts of the North Country, under their unremitting labour, soon began to blossom like the rose with fields of corn. Their example and teaching roused a country only too ready to fall into moral sloth, and the spirit of devotion and self-denial spread from the cloister to the village and the town.

Rahere, the flippant fine gentleman of the Court of Henry I., lying sick at Rome, vowed on his safe return to build a hospital and a convent in London, and the foundation of St. Bartholomew's priory and hospital was made. The great church of St. Paul's reared its head. A convent rose on the site of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where the city cripples found a shelter in the cloister entrance. And in the very year of the accession of Henry II. England received a new proof of her connection with the heart of Christendom when she heard of the consecration of Pope Adrian IV., known in his own land as Nicholas Breakspear, son of a poor English clerk of Langley, near St. Albans.

§ 3. **Clerical Rights and Lay Rights,** 1154.—The only English Pope had passed away when the next phase of the struggle between the king and the Church in England came to a head.

Two mighty personalities were involved. The young king, Henry II., was a man full of energy, determination, and business capacity, the special characteristics of the Frank combined with the sagacity and courage of the Norman. Wide as was his domain in France, stretching from the Channel to the Pyrenees, he "held it in the hollow of his hand." The very fact that he succeeded to the rule of an England half-ruined by civil war, by feudal rules run to a madly exaggerated conclusion, by a lawlessness in which the Church,

under Archbishop Theobald, was the only representative of discipline, stirred him to fresh zeal for reform. And as his chief instrument in this, he chose a clever, witty young priest, a man apparently after his own heart. For Thomas Becket, his chancellor, was not only an excellent administrator, full of business capacity: he could ride and hawk and was as keen a sportsman as Henry himself. What the king failed to realize was that he was something much more than this. "A great visionary and a great revolutionist," he has been called; and this was the aspect that at once appeared when he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162. From that day—henceforth to be hallowed by Christendom as Trinity Sunday—Thomas Becket laid aside the worldly pomp of the chancellor, and led a life of strictest discipline. A few months earlier, he and Henry had been inseparable. "Never in Christian times were two men more of a mind. . . . Sometimes they would play together like boys of an age, in hall, in church they sat together, together they rode out. Sometimes the king would ride his horse into the hall where the chancellor sat at meat . . . and jumping over the table would sit and dine with him." Yet during the next eight years this love was to turn to hatred.

The main point of difference was the right of the ecclesiastical court to try civil offences committed by clerical offenders by their own "canon law." These "Courts Christian," as they were termed, in which sat the bishops and chief dignitaries of the Church, had the advantage over the lay courts of king and barons in that the former were dominated by learned men, trained in the law, and that this law was guided by the fixed and invariable principles of the Catholic Church. The civil courts dealt, as yet, with laws scarcely formed, confused and uncertain, partly Anglo-Saxon, partly Norman, depending on local customs and vague traditions. Hence, every possible matter was dragged before the Church courts rather than before the civil, and thereby keen jealousy arose. The question was complicated by the fact that everyone admitted to the tonsure, whether he afterwards became a priest or not, was entitled to this clerical privilege; and as many of these, in those wild days, committed serious crimes, it was claimed by the rival party that, since the Church courts could not condemn to death, they were encouraged by the comparative lightness of the penalties inflicted.

There was, moreover, one law for the clergy, another for the laity; a perfectly natural sequence to the separation of Church and lay courts by William I., but one for which, of course, very little could be said.

At the Council of Clarendon, in 1164, this question among others was formally considered. Briefly, the "customs," as Henry termed them, were as follows:

(i.) *The custody of vacant benefices and their revenues was to be held by the king.* This, as we know, had been introduced by Rufus, and renounced by his successors.

(ii.) *The king's court was to decide in which court clerics should be tried.* This was in direct opposition to the "custom" introduced by William I.

(iii.) *No tenant-in-chief was to be excommunicated against the royal will.* This had been claimed by the Conqueror and his successors, since the penalty involved was so universally respected that the excommunicate, who might happen to be extremely useful to the king, was cut off from the society of his fellows.

(iv.) *Appeals to the pope against the king were prevented by a clause that forbade archbishops and bishops to cross the sea without royal permission.*

For a moment the archbishop, not realizing the full purport of all this as well as he did the need of maintaining a hold over Henry, wavered in his refusal to accept these constitutions; but further consideration made clear the blow struck at the position of the Church. From that time, he openly opposed them, and Henry as openly made it his aim to bring about the downfall of his former friend. "Not while I live," Becket had declared when asked to sign; and from that moment his own death-warrant was sealed. Condemned as a traitor, the archbishop fled to the protection of the French king. Meantime, Henry's envoys hastened to forestall him at the French Court, and, finding Louis at Compiègne, handed him a letter requesting his "lord and friend to withhold his protection from a certain convicted traitor, Thomas, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury." The views of Christendom on the matter were expressed by the reply of Louis: "Formerly? Why? Who hath deposed him? I, in my kingdom, cannot depose the humblest cleric."[1] The envoys hurried on to Sens, where Pope Alexander was then

[1] Herbert of Bosham.

residing. No doubt they hoped to win to the royal view the pontiff whose claim to the Chair of Peter had been strongly supported by the English king. But here Becket was openly recognized as the champion of the rights of the Church, and the baulked and angry Henry had to content himself with confiscating the estates of the prelate, and banishing all his relations and supporters.

Six years of exile followed, before the threat of a papal interdict brought about a hollow reconciliation between a king who never forgave an affront, and an archbishop who longed to fulfil his duties towards his flock. The Pope urged that the "constitutions" question should be left for the present; they could be modified later on. He did not foresee the effect of the insult Henry was preparing to offer Thomas. Even while negotiations were going on, he was arranging for the coronation of the sixteen-year-old Prince Henry, Becket's former pupil, at the hands of Archbishop Roger of York. It was a studied blow at the prestige of Becket and the see of Canterbury, and immediately on his return, the justly angry prelate suspended those bishops who had taken part in the ceremony, and was in return ordered by the Regency Council acting for the king, then abroad, to remain inactive at Canterbury. Determined to vindicate the majesty of his office Archbishop Thomas replied by renewed anathemas upon all who had degraded the "Sacred Order" by obeying the king in this matter. When this was reported to Henry, he lost all self-control and broke into curses on "the idle knaves who allow me to be bearded by an upstart priest." The scene that followed shocked all Christendom to its depths. Four knights of the royal household hastened across the Channel and rode to Canterbury, arriving in the gathering gloom of a December afternoon. Forcing their way into the archbishop's chamber, they began a hot altercation. If Thomas had grievances, let him submit them to the king's court. To which he made reply that as he had been ordered to remain at Canterbury, he neither could nor would do so. "Mind! Thy life is in danger!" they cried significantly; to which Thomas replied defiantly: "Oh, are ye come to kill me? Try to frighten someone else. If all the swords in England were hanging over my head you would still find me fighting the Lord's battle against you, hand to hand, foot to foot."

Retiring to arm themselves under the mulberry-tree in the courtyard, the knights returned to find the doors closed against them. Whilst they were breaking through, the archbishop, against his will, was hurried away to the refuge of the Cathedral. Vespers had begun, urged his terrified attendants, he was bound to attend. Passing through the cloisters they entered the western transept, the door of which he would not have them close. The archbishop was slowly ascending the steps leading from transept to choir when the four knights, flourishing swords and axes, rushed in, crying, "Where is the traitor, Thomas Becket?"

"Here am I," came the proud answer, "no traitor, but a priest of the Lord." Again they strove to terrify him by threats. "Take thy deserts and die—or come with us." "I am ready to die," he replied calmly, "that by my blood the Church may obtain peace and freedom. But in God's name, I command you not to hurt my people, cleric or lay." On the altar steps he faced them, "defiant, scornful, triumphant"; and there he was cut down by a blow from the sword of FitzUrse that slashed off his tonsure. Another, Richard the Breton, cleft his skull as he lay on the blood-stained stones.

The result of this crime was a triumph for the Church. By the whole voice of Christendom, clerical and lay, the archbishop was claimed as saint and martyr. Miracles were performed at his tomb, which soon became the most popular object of mediæval pilgrimage. The privileges for which he died were conceded; the haughty king did abject penance on the scene of his martyrdom.

The meaning of the whole dramatic story stands out clearly enough if we see it in its right perspective. In itself, the claim to have clerical offenders tried in the civil courts was perfectly justifiable, and, as a matter of fact, was conceded by the Church during the next few years, together with all the other points which Archbishop Thomas resisted. But the gist of the matter, and with it the full justification of the attitude of the martyred prelate, lies in this: the period was one of rapidly changing conditions, in which it was necessary to hold certain fundamental principles with an absolutely firm hand. One of these was the freedom of the Church. Had Archbishop Thomas weakly given way as to the principle of which this particular privilege was the outward symbol,

it might well have opened the door to a movement which would have destroyed the unity and discipline of that Church. It was not the actual point that mattered, but the spirit that lay behind the royal claim; and by his heroic stand St. Thomas of Canterbury made it clear, once and for all, that the Catholic Church should never be controlled by the civil power.[1]

Once again this twelfth century was to see the triumph of Church over State. The saintly bishop, Hugh of Lincoln, to whom England owes the introduction of the Carthusian Order, refused to allow King Henry to appoint laymen to the vacant stalls in his Cathedral, or to pay King Richard I. heavy sums in taxes for the support of his troops abroad. And through his lips we hear the Church speaking, with increased authority, in the Great Council of the realm, on a matter that concerned the rights of laymen in this matter of arbitrary taxation, as well as those of the clergy.

§ 4. **The Influence of the Church on Social Life.**—The two previous sections have shown the influence of the Church upon feudal conditions and her relations with the State during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In this section we will take a glance at the work connected with a twelfth-century monastery, as best showing the effect of clerical influence on social life. From our modern point of view, especially in a non-Catholic England, it is difficult to realize the immense extent, not only of the monastery itself in that period, but also of its effect on the ordinary population in touch with it. As early as the time of the Domesday Book, when monasticism was at a fairly low ebb, we read therein that "there are 342 dwellings in the demesne of the land of St. Edmund where was ploughland in the time of King Edward"; and that there were, "in a great circuit of land," besides the abbot and the brethren, "30 priests and clerks; 28 nuns; many poor brethren who pray daily for the kin and for all Christian people; 75 bakers, brewers, tailors, launders, shoemakers, cooks, porters, servingmen . . . besides whom there are 13 on the land of the reeve who have their dwellings in the same town."

It is clear from this that the monastery itself was but the centre of a large and populous village or small town, the

[1] For a most illuminative treatment of this question, see the Introduction to Mr. Belloc's *Europe and the Faith*.

inhabitants of which were in close connection with it and were ruled by the abbot, as a feudal lord and magistrate. As the population grew, the abbot would have much to say in the choice of its mayor and aldermen; no newcomer could settle within the demesne without his consent; no man could grind his corn save in the abbot's mill. In many cases he minted his own money, but coin was as yet little used and rent was still paid in goods and service. Everything in common use, whether for food, or drink, or clothing, was made or grown on the estate, so that there was plenty of occupation for everyone. Within the abbey walls the same activity reigned. The chief "officers" there would be the Prior, the Precentor, who superintended the music, the Sacristan, the Hospitaller, who attended to the needs of travellers, the Cellarer, the Infirmarian, and the Almoner, who gave alms to the poor who appeared daily at the gates. Then there were the monks who kept the "chronicles," or taught the novices or the boys who attended the school, if one was connected with the monastery; besides a host of "clerics" who performed the ordinary work of a great establishment. Much time would be spent, by monks skilled in art, in copying missals ornamented with beautiful illuminated borders and capitals; some made fine stained glass and musical instruments; others planned and built the noble churches of that day. Besides all this, these monasteries were the hospitals, almshouses, hotels, and relief offices of their period; the monks the doctors, artists, historians, scribes, architects, and men of science of their time. Hence it was inevitable that their impression upon social life should be deep and permanent.

The invaluable *Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond*, a twelfth-century monk in the Abbey of St. Edmund (now Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk), gives us a living picture of all these things. He tells of the troubles of poor old Abbot Hugo, who had fallen into the hands of Jewish usurers in his effort to get money to repair the thatched roof of the church; and of how the new Abbot Samson brought about reforms in the accounts, and delivered the monks from the tyranny of the Jews, a class of men hated universally by a mediæval world that did not scruple to make use of them on occasion. We see this strong, silent Samson gathering heaps of lime and sand and straw till he had both roof and choir complete,

and winning the respect of his fellow-monks to such an extent that when Abbot Hugo died on pilgrimage to Canterbury, he was sent off to the king (Henry II.) then staying at Waltham, where the Bishop of Winchester had a house, with the sealed "paper of election" in a "leather pouch hung round his neck, and his habit looped over his elbow." After his election he played the part of strong ruler. The lamp before St. Edmund's shrine shone forth night and day and the "town" gladly paid £40 a year for its maintenance. He built "houses, churches, steeples, barns, the hospital of Babwell, and a fit house for St. Edmund's Schools." His sound economic motto was, "An increase of industry in raising money for necessities, an increase of thrift in laying it out." He was strong on the duty of hospitality. "Let there be no shabbiness in meat and drink for guests." He sat as just magistrate in the local court, and an angry litigant was forced to cry: "My curse upon that abbot's court when neither gold nor silver can help me to confound my enemy." But he never forgot that his first duty was to the souls of his flock. "He could read English very elegantly and was wont to preach to the people in the English tongue according to the dialect of Norfolk where he had been brought up." His reminiscences, when suitors ask him for temporal favours, throw a flood of light upon the social happenings of that day, when a boy bred in a household of poverty was dependent upon the kindness of others for his education.

"To a certain chaplain who had maintained him at the Schools of Paris by the sale of holy water he would give a vicarage, adequate to the comfortable maintenance of him." To a certain Master Walter, who wanted another benefice, he says, "Thy father was Master of the Schools; and when I was a poor cleric, he granted me in charity a free entrance to his school and opportunity of learning; wherefore I now grant to thee what thou askest."

He again lays stress on the virtue of hospitality. To two soldiers, William and Norman, "being adjudged to come under his mercy for a fine of 20s.," he says, "When I was a cloister monk, I was once sent to Durham on business of our Church, and coming home again the dark night caught me at Risbey and I had to beg lodging there. I went to Dom Norman, he gave me flat refusal. I went then to Dom William, and, begging hospitality, was by him honourably

received. Therefore, the 20s. 'of mercy' I, without mercy, exact from Dom Norman; to Dom William, I, with thanks, wholly remit the said sum."

Throughout the chronicle we get glimpses of the "fullers" at their cloth-making, the women weaving, the dye vats, the men working in the fields or driving their cows home to the byre, the dung heaps before the door of the "cot." We hear of the yearly fair presided over by the abbot, and of the trouble arising from "Londoners" who try to buy and sell there without paying toll. We hear also of the difficulties of the cellarer in collecting the "repp-penny," sometimes paid instead of cutting the abbey corn; and of how, at last, he goes to the cottage of the defaulting tenant and, finding there "neither penny nor good promise," takes away a stool, a kettle, even a door of the house, "while old women with spindles rush after him with shrieks and reproaches."

On another occasion a tournament is proclaimed in the abbot's demesne, and twenty-four young sons of noblemen appear at the abbey gates in readiness for it, asking lodging for the night. But it happens to be the vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul, so the abbot, while readily admitting them, closes the gates and gives them fast day fare. The guests grow restive. "After dinner they all began carolling and singing and sending into town for wine—drinking and yelling all the rest of the day, nor would they desist at the abbot's order. Night coming, they broke the bolts of the gates and went off by violence."

For this escapade they were promptly excommunicated by the abbot, which must have cast a distinct gloom over the tournament, even if it ever came off. Before long, however, the boys came back repentant, and one can hardly think the way to restoration proved difficult.

The relations between the abbot and the royal Court, in view of the struggle still scarcely over, are interesting. In the absence of King Richard in Palestine Prince John lodged at St. Edmund's for a fortnight, but all we hear about him is that "he left in recompense a handsome silk cloak," which was, however, borrowed by one of his retinue and never returned. So the only reward for their hospitality was "one shilling and a penny given to the monks to say mass for him." During the period of John's usurpation we find the stout old abbot actually gathering his feudal levy and

marching to the siege of Windsor "for the purpose of reform." Again, when news reached London of the captivity of King Richard, he hastened off to his seat in the Great Council and there declared "he was ready to go and seek the king either secretly or by any other method." He actually did go with rich gifts to the king in Germany, but when there was a question of raising a ransom by robbing St. Edmund's shrine he proved adamant. "Let anyone try who likes to do so." And nobody did.

When the king returned, a serious difference of opinion arose concerning a feudal ward of the abbot's, a little girl of three months, for whom a bridegroom was at once chosen. King Richard declared that he had other views for her. The abbot replied politely that she was "already given." Threats and cajolements had no effect. "The king can send if he will and seize her. Force and power he has to do his pleasure and to abolish the whole abbey. But I, for my part, never can be bent to wish this that he seeks, nor shall it by me ever be done." The king very sensibly gave way, and the last glimpse we shall take of the abbot shows him reading a request from Richard concerning "one or two of the St. Edmund's dogs, which he hears are very good." Of course, the abbot sent him his very best hounds, and Richard replied by the present of a ring.

EXERCISES

1. Trace the effect of the Crusades on the England of the twelfth century.
2. Write a brief essay on *Chivalry*, illustrating it from any source you like.
3. What remains has modern England of the old Militant Orders?
4. Make clear and justify the position of St. Thomas of Canterbury in his quarrel with the king.
5. Describe a day in a mediæval monastery, and show the effect of the latter on the everyday life of the period.

CHAPTER VII

THE GROWTH OF ENGLAND
(1150–1300)

CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND RULERS

England.	*Scotland.*	*France.*
Henry II., 1154	Malcolm IV., 1153	Louis VII., 1137
Richard I., 1189	William the Lion, 1165	Philip II., 1180
John, 1199	Alexander II., 1214	Louis VIII., 1223
Henry III., 1216	Alexander III., 1249	Louis IX., 1226
Edward I., 1272–1307	Margaret of Norway, 1286	Philip III., 1270
	John Baliol, 1292	Philip IV., 1285

Western Empire.	*Papacy.*	
Frederic I., 1152	Adrian IV., 1154	Alexander IV., 1254
Henry VI., 1190	Alexander III., 1159	Urban IV., 1261
Frederic II., 1212	Clement III., 1187	Clement IV., 1265
Conrad IV., 1250	Innocent III., 1198	Gregory X., 1271
Rudolf of Hapsburg, 1273	Honorius III., 1216	Innocent V., 1276
	Gregory IX., 1227	(Seven popes between 1276 and 1294)
	Celestine IV., 1241	
	Innocent IV., 1243	Boniface VIII., 1294

General Survey.—The period we are now approaching, that of the "Wonderful Thirteenth Century," might well be described as the Golden Age of England.

All over Europe we find the signs of new vitality, of growth in ideas and practical ability, of development in art and literature, in building, in trade and commerce. A new state of society had grown up, a new class, the "burgher," or independent craftsman, was playing a most important part. In consequence we shall find in this period the beginnings of a vigorous growth of towns, of co-operative industry in the form of the Gilds, of a Parliamentary system, in England.

The keynote to the whole period, indeed, is the notion of *growth*—growth in the Constitution that helped to weld the country into a strong coherent nation; in the empire by the very questionable "conquest" of Ireland; in the towns; and in the scope of the measures by which citizens safeguarded their freedom.

But this growth was not without conflict, as we shall see in the struggle between barons and king.

It is important to keep always in mind the fact that England, during this time, was even more closely connected with the Continent than before; that her interests and developments were part of a universal scheme of things; and that not one

of the great movements of the period stands in isolation from the rest of Christendom, but belongs to a century which has been described as " more productive of ideas in every department of culture than the world has ever seen before or since." For it was the century of Dante, of Giotto, of St. Dominic, and St. Francis; the century also that saw strong popes such as Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. upon the throne of Peter, men who did not hesitate to make their voices heard even in secular matters where any question of morality or justice was involved.

The New Nation.—The reign of Henry II. marks the beginning of the new era. For the first time we see distinct signs of a drawing together of the various elements, Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman, of which the nation was composed. Yet at this period England was still but a small part of a great foreign empire stretching from the Pyrenees to the Low Countries, and was ruled according to the Continental policy of a king who had very little English blood in his veins. For Henry II., King of England, Duke of Normandy and Count of Maine as heir of his mother Matilda and of his grandfather Henry I.; Count of Anjou and Touraine through his father Geoffrey Plantagenet; ruler of the vast province of Aquitaine through his wife Eleanor; the claimant in later days, through the marriage of his son Geoffrey, of rights over Brittany, was a man of mingled interests as well as of mixed nationality. It was but natural that he should plan to rule over this vast empire by means of feudal overlords closely connected with himself. This was to be done by a series of royal marriages, as well as by dividing his domains among his sons, to be ruled by them as vassal fiefs during his lifetime; the whole aim of this being, of course, to increase the royal power.

So, when one daughter was wedded to the King of Castile, and another to the Duke of Saxony, when his son Richard ruled Aquitaine and Poitou, and Henry himself, husband of a French princess, held sway over Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, his ambitions seemed to have been amply fulfilled. It was, however, not an age for vast empires and close imperial connections, and in his last years he was to see his schemes overturned, his sons in revolt against him, and died, muttering miserably, " Shame on a conquered king !"

In one part of his Angevin Empire, however, save when he

FRENCH DOMAIN OF HENRY II c. 1181.
Domain of English King
French King
Protected by Henry II
ENGLAND
Calais
Rouen
Paris
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
TOURAINE
POITOU
MARCHE
LIMOUSIN
ANGOUMOIS
SAINTONGE
AUVERGNE
AQUITAINE
GUIENNE
GASCONY
0 50 100 150
English Miles

tried to dash himself against the rocks of the Church, Henry II. was entirely successful. He found an England torn and shaken by the feudal uproar of the reign of Stephen, that interlude of anarchy and terrorism between Norman and Angevin rule. By a discreet blow at the power of the barons, supported by their feudal armies, he not only demolished their newbuilt castles and drove out their hordes of foreign mercenaries, but he encouraged the payment of a tax known as "scutage," or shield-money, instead of military service. This was no new thing. It had been already done in the days of Henry I. and Stephen in order to provide mercenaries for themselves. But it was now carried out on a larger scale to the mutual benefit of all parties. The "man with the shield," relieved from the constant demands of military service, could now devote time and energy to production instead of destruction. The king could employ the money equivalent to hire troops for necessary warfare, to supplement the baron's forces, or to use against them if need arose.

§ 1. **Growth of a Constitution.**—The constitutional changes of this reign tend in the same direction, the reduction of baronial power, the encouragement of the middle class, composed of smaller tenants and freeholders.

Thus the *Assize of Northampton*, 1176, did away with the local sheriffs, who collected the royal "dues" from tenants often in league with the barons to defraud both king and taxpayer. With them vanished a good deal of the "local court" procedure, which often led to men being tried by varying laws, or, rather, customs that had become laws, according to the part of England in which they happened to live. Exchequer officials took over more work in collecting taxes, and a class of professional lawyers made its appearance.

By the Assize of Clarendon, 1166, a still more important reform had been made. Not only were crimes to be dealt with by travelling justices, much in the same way as our "judges on circuit," but the criminal was to be accused by a "jury of presentment," much like the modern "grand jury"; the matter was then investigated and adjudged by unprejudiced judges and sheriffs appointed by the king.

This was developed further in the *Grand Assize of* 1179, when it was laid down that a man whose right to a piece of land was contested was no longer forced to defend his claim

by "battle ordeal." A little later such matters were decided not by the justices alone, but by the opinion of "twelve lawful men."

In these arrangements we find the germ of the system of trial by jury, which by the end of Henry's reign had become "part of the usual machinery of civil justice."[1] The importance of this reform is clear if we realize that it means the beginning of legal justice for the ordinary man, and the first real blow struck both at the tyrannical side of feudal rule, and at the unlimited power of royal official or local landlord. In the light of this, no one will find this extract from the Charter given at the *Assize of Clarendon* uninteresting.

"In the first place, King Henry, by the counsel of all his barons, for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice, has decreed that an enquiry shall be made throughout the several counties and hundreds, *through twelve of the more lawful men of the hundred*, upon oath that they will speak the truth: whether in their hundred or in their township there be any man who . . . has been charged or proclaimed as being a robber or murderer or thief."

This was, of course, very far from being the same thing as the modern trial by jury. The very next paragraph, indeed, speaks of the accused being impelled to go through the "trial by water." But it was the first step towards the "judgment of a man not by his superiors but by his *peers*—*i.e.*, his equals."

§ 2. **"Conquest" of Ireland,** 1172.—We now turn to a very different subject, the so-called Conquest of Ireland by Angevin barons. The history of Ireland is too important and of too great a length to be dealt with here, nor did it influence England at this time sufficiently to warrant its inclusion. But these outstanding points may be noted in a struggle for a nation's freedom.

A part of Ireland, once famous for her learning and civilization in the early days of her conversion to Christianity, had, under the repeated inroads of the Northmen, or "Ostmen," as the Irish called them, sunk back to a state little short of savagery. The Ostmen held the eastern coastline and had actually succeeded in making Dublin "the rival of London";[2] but the natives had returned to their native wilds and boglands, where they lived in wickerwork huts, were clad in sheep-

[1] Pollock and Maitland. [2] Giraldus Cambrensis.

skins, and retained few traces of civilized arts save their skill in playing upon the harp. On the other hand, they kept the Faith secure, and their priests held high reputation in Christendom.

In the earlier part of his reign Henry II. had made the conquest of Ireland a part of his international scheme, and on the plea that he wished to invade the land of a free and independent nation merely for the purpose of introducing order, law, and civilization, obtained the sanction of Adrian IV., the "English" Pope, who, by right of office, claimed overlordship of every island of Christendom. It should be noted, however, that no feudal grant of Ireland was made to the king; that the purport of his action is mentioned in the papal letter as "to subject its people to the rule of law and to root out therefrom the weeds of vice"; that, lastly, this sanction was so limited, that Henry did not attempt to use it as his justification till twenty years later, when, finding his authority in Ireland tottering to a fall, he employed it to overawe the bishops of the Irish Church.

Busied with international schemes elsewhere, Henry let Irish affairs drop, until, in 1166, an Irish chieftain, Dermot, appeared at the Court to ask for aid to recover his lost sway over Leinster. It was clear that the whole land was torn by the rivalries of various chieftains, and was therefore in a fit state for easy conquest. Moreover, the task would absorb the energies of restive Angevin barons. With the king's consent, Fitzgerald, FitzStephen, and Richard de Clare, or "Strongbow," took up Dermot's cause, reinstated him, but seized the more civilized townships of the expelled Ostmen for themselves; and on the death of Dermot, Strongbow became ruler of Ireland.

At that time (1171) Henry was in Normandy, in sore distress as to the consequences of the murder of Archbishop Thomas, whose violent death had shocked Christendom to its very depths. The report of an Ireland which threatened to become an independent state under the rule of his own barons did nothing to cheer him, and, resolving on immediate action, he appeared in Waterford with a large force of followers. The Irish chieftains, in a dilemma between becoming the "men" of Angevin barons, or the subjects of the King of the Angevin Empire, chose the latter, and hastened to pay homage. The Irish clergy, hoping for a solution of many

pressing difficulties of reform, followed suit. The various provinces were, however, placed under the rule of the king's barons, with a "justiciar" to administer the law. No attempt was made to civilize the natives or to draw the nation together. Instead, a state of disunion was fostered by the rule of wild buccaneer earls, whose followers, far from improving the condition of the people, quickly sank to their level. The natives, deprived of their liberty but deprived also of the compensations of law and order, remained hostile, refusing to learn from "foreigners." The "conquest" of Ireland remained a military measure and nothing more; but the occupation of a country alien in race, and possessing strongly marked characteristics of its own, was to provide an apple of discord for the years to come.

§ 3. **Rise of the English Towns and Gilds.**—The reign of Henry II., and, to a still more marked degree, the reigns of his two sons, saw the steady growth of the English towns. This movement is so bound up with the progress of the country that it is better worth our study here than temporary insurrections in different parts of the Angevin Empire.

The opportunity for the rise of the town had come when Norman and Englishman had ceased to hold the position of conqueror and conquered. Not that there was any close blending of race as yet, as the test of language shows. At the very end of the thirteenth century the English Robert of Gloucester could still lament, "Unless a man knows French, one accounts of him little. But low men hold to English and their own speech yet." Not till the year 1363 was it ordered that "men of lawe, both of the temporall and of Holy Church lawe, fro that tyme forth shold plede in their moder tunge."[1]

Meantime, however, other links between the aloof classes were being forged. The constitutional system of Henry II. judged Angevin noble and English peasant under the self-same law. A "burgher," or merchant, class was growing from mingled Angevin and English roots, bidding fair to rival the importance of the aristocratic party of the barons and to check despotic tendencies in the king.

The growth of town life, which the rise of this "burgher" class implied, was a marked feature of the Continent at that day.

[1] Layamon's *Brut*.

All over Europe, from the eleventh century to the fourteenth, we find it in action wherever the most energetic and influential settlers happened to be artisans or traders. Hampered as they were by the jealousy of the great landowners, by the interference of the servants and retainers of the neighbouring feudal castle, by the tyranny of the king, yet these towns made steady progress towards freedom. They grew up in two ways: some enjoyed certain privileges under the rule of feudal lord or abbot; others were really "free" —that is, "self-governing bodies corporate."[1] This latter and smaller class was of very gradual growth, winning its freedom by bargaining for it where opportunity was afforded by an impecunious king or overlord. Let us see what this freedom involved.

First came the privilege of the "town-peace," which could be granted only by the king. "Invested with this peace the town becomes, like a royal palace or the shrine of a saint, a sanctuary." With a hostile feudal castle upon its borders, the importance to the burgher of this clause need not be emphasized. Then comes the right to trade; the right to choose their own "portreeve, or mayor"; the right to pay a fixed sum yearly to king or overlord, in place of the hated feudal "dues" and obligations, which privilege left them free to follow their trades in peace; the right to hold a weekly market and sometimes a yearly fair. Then other concessions were given, such as the right of defence against those who rob the citizens or break the peace of the town; and of exemption from all jurisdiction save their own town court in disputes between the burghers. In the Records of Leicester for the year 1253 we get a very living instance of this last privilege. Two kinsmen citizens had fallen out over the possession of a certain piece of land, the right to which would in the ordinary way be judged by the Earl of Leicester. But, pending his decision, Nicholas and Geoffrey "fought from the hour of prime till past noon. And as they there strov together, one drove the other up to a certain small ditch, and as he stood over it and should have fallen in, his kinsman cried to him: 'Have a care of that ditch that is behind thee!'" This generous warning on the part of an adversary so moved the admiration of the onlookers, that they raised such a shout and tumult that "the lord earl heard their shout even

[1] For a full description see H. W. C. Davis, *Mediæval Europe*.

in the castle where he sat." But the more sober citizens, "moved with pity" that two such fine fellows should try to kill one another over a purely legal matter, "made a covenant with the said earl that they should pay him threepence from every house that had a gable in the High Street, on condition that he would allow them to dispose and determine all pleas concerning the citizens by means of twenty-four jurats"—*i.e.*, men sitting on jury.

In Northern France, in Flanders, in Germany, and in Italy, this movement towards freedom developed further. In those countries we find the "commune," or free town, whose object was a republican form of government, hostile to the rights of Crown or overlord. In England this was not the case. Towns in any form had never been popular among the early English, who were, as we have seen, mainly agriculturists; even now, their growth was slow. It was only when a large influx of cosmopolitan settlers came in with the new commercial interests encouraged by Henry II. that they began to develop to any marked extent. "Many of the citizens of Rouen and Caen," says a chronicler of the twelfth century, "passed over to London, preferring to be dwellers in this city, inasmuch as it was fitter for their trading and better stored with the merchandise in which they were wont to traffic." Such towns as London and Southampton had always existed as trading centres and ports; others developed side by side with the dwellings of feudal retainer or servants of a great monastic demesne, such as we have already seen growing up at St. Edmondsbury. The burghers of the former class would be merchants and traders; of the second, small landholders and artisans, who probably combined the business of cultivating their strips of land, just outside the town, with some industry carried on within its gates. In the latter cases, the maintenance of rights and privileges in face of the jealous encroachments of the feudal element would not be easy, but, as trade increased, the purse of the citizen became an important element in purchasing freedom from the king or overlord, who was generally in constant need of money.

This explains the curious fact that English towns, in mediæval days at least, made far greater progress under a bad than under a good king. In the days of Richard I., who spent nearly all his time abroad and was absorbed in the interests

either of the Crusade or of his French dominions, and in the reign of John, whose energies, such as they were, were directed to a struggle with Church and barons as well as to a vain attempt to regain an empire he had thrown away, great strides were made towards growth and freedom in England. Charters were freely given in return for the money needed to equip the royal armies, and the newborn towns were left to develop without interference from king or baron.

The Growth of Gilds.—But with the loss of interference from the baron went the loss of protection, and of much that in the case of a worthy overlord went to oil the wheels of life. To compensate for this, as well as to strengthen the position of merchants and artisans, there arose the gild system, which played so important a part in the development of mediæval town life.

We saw that in early English days something of the kind had existed, in order to keep up mutual good fellowship among the members of a "vill," or township; but these were primarily for the policing "of the parish," or "parish gilds" for the support of the parish church. In the twelfth century arose the Merchant and the Trade Gilds on much wider lines.

The Merchant Gild was an organized union of master workers, or merchants of the old thegn class, which had now to a large extent absorbed the "burgher," or townsman, into itself. The object of the gild was "to monopolize and nourish trade." This was done by preventing outsiders from drawing away custom or from any form of competition, by examining the quality of goods produced for sale, by testing weights and measures, and by acting as bankers to the members. The gild was also responsible for the welfare and behaviour of its dependents. The poor were helped "in losses by sea or fire or by the sending of God." Doles of bread were made; the needy were assisted to earn a livelihood; pilgrimages were organized. Thus, at Lincoln, we find the members providing a penny a head to send a "palmer" to the Holy Land; at Bodmin several gilds combined to build a church; at Worcester they maintained a "free schole"; at Birmingham they repaired roads and bridges.

The Trade, or Craft, Gild was a union of craftsmen, all employed on the same kind of work; so that every trade had its own special gild and dwelt as far as possible in the same quarter of the town. The aim of each, as set forth in

their own *Craft Ordinary*, or rule, was "to enforce brotherly behaviour and charity and to put out and do away with all kinds of bad works and deceits." Their duty was to regulate the appointment of apprentices, hire servants, tend the sick, pay for Masses for the dead, and support the parish church with which they were connected. The goods produced by each gild were scanned closely by the mayor and aldermen, who would be drawn from members of the merchant gilds. Here are a few examples of fraudulent traders taken from the records of this period:

"Throughout this year (1272) no punishment was inflicted on the bakers, who made loaves at their own will, so that each loaf was deficient one-third in weight. . . . (In another year) one baker was drawn upon the hurdle; and because another did not have the same sentence the mayor was reviled by the people and called a rogue; for which many persons were imprisoned and impoverished."

"John Penrose was prosecuted for that he sold red wine, unsound and unwholesome for man, in deceit of the common people, and in contempt of our lord the king and to the shameful disgrace of the officers of the city, and the grievous damage of the commonalty (or gild). . . . The judgment was that the said John Penrose shall drink a draught of the same wine that he sold to the common people; the remainder of such wine shall then be poured on the head of the said John; and he shall forswear the calling of a vintner for ever, unless he can obtain the favour of our lord the king as to the same."

Not only the occupation but also the amusements of the people were under the control of the gilds. They were responsible for producing the miracle plays,[1] shown on a huge scale, on a movable scaffold in the open air, at Corpus Christi, or Whitsuntide, as in earlier days, at Easter and Christmas the clergy had done inside the Church. These set forth the whole of the Old and New Testaments in brief dramatic scenes, some of which were interpolated by very funny, and occasionally, very touching, additions. Their production was a serious matter, giving work to many during the long winter months. If badly played, or not at all, the gild responsible for that

[1] For the full text of these plays see the production of the *Early English Text Society*. For extracts and an interesting preface see A. W. Pollard's *Miracle Plays*, and Chambers's *Mediæval Stage*.

particular portion would be heavily fined "for the dishonour done to our cities." For, apart from their use in teaching and amusing the people, the performance brought in many strangers, and much trade and custom to the citizens.

The method of entry into the gild was by the road of apprenticeship. For this a boy must be of "free birth born in lawful wedlock, neither deformed nor alien." He was bound for seven years to his master's trade, receiving from him teaching, board, and maintenance. At his enrolment on "court day" before the brethren in the gild hall he promised "good conduct and civility, abstention from cards and dice and haunting of taverns." On the other hand, he might appeal to the gild if his master proved too severe in "correction with a rod." On occasion we find the merchant tailors fining a member "10s. for clothing his boy ill to the great disgrace of the maisterie [trade]." The ironmongers blame the 'prentices for wearing their hair too long. The scriveners of York are found to be unusually liberal in admitting strangers to be apprenticed to their art. A fraudulent 'prentice of a Stratford baker who inserts a piece of iron into a loaf of light weight is adjudged by the Gild Hall of London to be put on the pillory for an hour, "the said loaf and piece of iron being hung about his neck."

One aspect of mediæval town life must not be overlooked. In days when there was no drainage system whatever, when "roads, ditches, rivers, waters, and other places were filled with dung, garbages, intrails, and other Ordure, to the great Annoyance, Damage and Perill of the inhabitants," there was bound to be an immense amount of sickness. As the population rapidly grew, another disadvantage was felt. The parish priest of a wide country district found it impossible to meet the spiritual needs of so large a flock; and the action of Henry III. and his Provençal queen in bringing in a number of foreign clergy did not mend matters. What was needed was a rush of missionary vitality, spiritual and moral, to deal with such problems of sin, ignorance, and sickness as belong especially to town life. And this need was supplied, after the year 1220, by the work of the Friars.

§ 4. **The Coming of the Friars,** 1220.—It was the heresies and ignorance of mediæval Europe that called into existence the "Militia of Jesus Christ," wearing the white habit and black cloak, whom men called Dominicans, after their founder,

St. Dominic. It was the sin and want and suffering of that same period that sent the Franciscans, spiritual sons of St. Francis of Assisi, to carry their founder's spirit of love, and joy, and brotherhood to the hovels of the outcast, the sick, and the poor. Both Orders attracted the best intelligences of their day, both produced men of learning and science, though in this at first the Dominicans were foremost. The teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, of this Order, dominated the intellectual world of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the Franciscan Roger Bacon was the most notable man of science of the Oxford of his day. Another typical Franciscan, Reginald de Stokes, also an Oxford man, is described as "of advanced learning and skill in the arts and in medicine, whose knowledge of the world, circumspect discretion, mature discourse, and humble devotion make him worthy of all trust."

The Dominicans made their earliest English settlement in the spot lying between the present "Blackfriars" and London Bridge, and soon extended their work to the intellectual world of Oxford. The Franciscans, or Greyfriars, followed in their steps, building, first in Cornhill, their cells of wattles filled in with straw, and living on the bread given them from door to door, "mixing their sour small beer with water to make it go farther." From thence they carried their message of hope and joy to the poorest parts of the city, a message that was expressed in practical measures of social and hygienic reform. Presently some few of their number visited the Dominicans at Oxford, and remained to teach and lecture. Before many years had passed the white and the grey habits of the Friars were familiar in all the towns of England, where they acted as missionary preachers as well as practical reformers. Their popularity, indeed, became a danger, making them objects of criticism and jealousy to the parish priest, and often to the layman. Chaucer, in the tenth century, gibes at them, as he gibes at most other folk, and accuses them of being very able beggars; but this was no great crime in days when people were proud to support men who devoted their time and strength to the service of God. That they did not wax rich upon the proceeds of almsgiving is clear from the fact that at the Reformation, when they were the first Religious Orders to be attacked, "nothing was found in their possession but the churches in which they worshipped,

the libraries in which they studied, the houses in which they passed their lives." Their influence upon the religious and social condition of two centuries was, on the other hand, unbounded. Most of the teaching at the universities fell to them, and through their deep interest in the poorer classes of society the education they gave was extended to the son of the peasant and the petty trader. The Franciscans did much to set the medical profession above the status of the quack; the Dominicans stated in clear terms the theology of the Church, and taught men how to think clearly according to Greek models long forgotten or neglected.

Their most important influence, perhaps, was to be seen in the development of the mediæval university. The Friars were the mainspring of the three great centres of learning at Paris, Bologna, and Oxford; the latter, though it existed in the days of Becket, received no distinct recognition till after their settlement there. Cambridge, supposed to have been originated by a band of scholars, who migrated under a cloud from Oxford, in the days of John, developed later. In the days of Henry III. its "society of scholars" was already recognized with respect.

In these universities the scholars formed themselves into a gild for mutual protection and help. There were, originally, no colleges in the modern sense, but a hall for "their disputation," with clay floor and unglazed windows, and furniture which might consist of a few forms set round the unplastered walls. More commonly the "school" consisted of a bare room with a chair on which sat the lecturer, while the scholars literally sat at his feet upon the straw-covered floor. These scholars were of every race and nationality; and many of them were very poor, depending for their fees and scanty maintenance on the "common chest," into which the college fines were paid.

Soon after the middle of the thirteenth century Merton College was founded, by Walter de Merton, for the maintenance of twenty poor scholars and two or three priests in the "Scholes of Oxenforde"; the regulations or "statutes" drawn up for this were most probably modelled upon those of the houses of the mendicant Orders, already established on a sound basis of discipline. Here we get the beginning of the college system, for the "rule" of Merton became the model for all other founders.

Some features of this rule give a good idea of life in a mediæval university. Conversation must be in Latin, there must be no "feastings" or talking in bedrooms; permission to invite a friend to eat with them was rarely to be given. After a silent meal, during which the Scriptures were read aloud, the scholars were not to remain in hall since they were likely to quarrel or talk scandal; but on great feast days, the only time when a fire was lit, they were allowed to sit round the blaze, to sing, and recite poetry. Dinner was at ten in the morning, and supper at six in the evening; and the scholars probably went to bed at dusk, for they rose early to attend a lecture at six o'clock, often in the pitch dark. Breakfast was not provided. The studies were also bedrooms and were shared by two, three, or four students; sometimes these rooms had four small windows deep in the wall, at which each scholar worked.

Although the universities existed for the education of "secular clerks," every undergraduate had to wear clerical dress and the tonsure. Their teaching was entirely in the hands of priests, and the statutes show how very closely the educational course was bound to a life of religious practice. Attendance at daily Mass, the recitation of the *De profundis* after meals, prayers for pious founders, were insisted upon in days when such a thing as secular education was undreamt of. The whole course covered sixteen years of study. Like all other institutions influenced by the mediæval Church, the universities were on the side of democracy, opening their gates to the poor lad with "but litel gold in cofre," and a threadbare fustian suit, on the same principle that it upheld the right of the son of a serf to take Holy Orders even without the consent of his "lord."

§ 5. **Growth in Freedom.**—While university and town life was thus developing in England, a long stride in the direction of the freedom of the people was being taken elsewhere.

The brief reign of Richard I. (1189-1199), ten months only of which was spent by the king in this part of his empire, had seen some important, if silent, changes in the life of the nation. Speaking generally, it had supplied the breathing space necessary to allow the constitutional reforms of Henry II. to be put on a working basis. Examples of this are found in such facts as these:

London received a full municipal charter of freedom, and

rapidly became a power to be reckoned with; for the chronicles, even of Richard's reign, speak of the city as "a swelling of the people, the king's fear, the priesthood's terror."

The power of the "shire-reeves," or sheriffs, whose work had included the collection of the king's dues, had been much decreased by the appointment of "coroners," or Crown officials, to carry on certain judicial work in each county. A still more distinct check, this time on the Crown itself, is seen in the refusal of the Great Council, under the influence of the bishop-saint, Hugh of Lincoln, to give military service for the king's feuds across the Channel, or to pay heavy taxes for the maintenance of his mercenaries.

These are but hints at what was to come. In the reign of John and that of his son, Henry III., these principles, and others like them, were enlarged and developed into the idea, faint and half-hearted at first, of a representative "parliament," on the model of the monastic "chapter," which should make the voice of the nation much more clearly heard.

The first milestone on the road to this freedom was the *Great Charter* of 1215, the importance of which is due mostly to the fact that it was brought about by the united action of three forces, hitherto seldom found to act together—the Church, the baronage, the people. The latter, it is true, brought little direct force to bear; but the fact that they obtained certain very definite rights shows they were recognized as a power to be reckoned with. It is useful also to remember that charters were the fashion in the thirteenth century, and were the goal of every struggling little town in England.

Let us take a brief survey of the circumstances that brought these three forces into play.

The Dispute between Church and Crown, 1207–1213.—The contest between Henry II. and Archbishop Thomas had turned on a point of *Church order*. In the reign of John it turned on the question of the *right of election to bishoprics*. This had really been settled in the days of Henry I. and Archbishop Anselm, for it was merely another aspect of the Investiture struggle. But, in the case of a weak and suspicious royal tyrant, the dread that one of his opponents should be appointed to a position which would give him, as prelate baron, a strong hand in matters of State was cause enough to interfere with the rights of election. This, in the

case of the see of Canterbury, was complicated by the fact that the monks of Christ Church claimed the privilege of election in place, not only of the king, but of the bishops of the province of Canterbury. When Archbishop Walter died, these monks hastily made choice of sub-Prior Reginald and sent him to Rome for the sanction of Innocent III. King John, meantime, had chosen his own favourite, John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, and having induced the bishops to withdraw their claim to elect, forced the monks to a pretended election, and sent off messengers to Rome with the necessary documents.

Very wisely, the Pope refused both claims on the ground that both Reginald and de Grey had been informally and clandestinely elected. In private also he opposed that of John's favourite on the ground that, as prime minister, he was absorbed in secular affairs. He himself proposed the election of Cardinal Stephen Langton, a famous scholar, an Englishman and a man of very high standing both in Paris and Rome. The Canterbury monks agreed to his election; John kept sullen silence, and Langton was consecrated by the Pope himself at Viterbo, in the midsummer of 1207. Then the king began to wreak his spleen on the monks. He suddenly ordered that all their property should be seized, and within three days the whole community was forced to leave Canterbury for St. Omer. The estates of the archbishop were also annexed by John, who refused to allow Archbishop Stephen even to land. The Pope threatened to lay all England under an interdict, and bade the English prelates reason with the king. John replied that if the bishops "or any other men" dared to lay his land under an interdict "the whole ecclesiastical community should be sent off to Rome." He would have none of them, and he warned all priests who obeyed the interdict that their property would be confiscated.

The object of an interdict was to impress the whole nation with the idea that, owing to the impiety of the king, the land was under the curse of God. Altars were stripped, church doors closed, all sacraments forbidden, save the baptism of infants and the viaticum for the dying. The dead were buried like malefactors in silence and in unconsecrated ground. Marriages could only be performed in the porch of the church. In addition to this spiritual misery, the people had to see

war declared upon monks and parish priests, their property seized, their lives at stake. "Let him go!" cried the king, hearing that a highwayman had robbed and murdered a priest. "He has only killed one of my enemies." Most of the bishops, save those who ventured to support John, were forced to flee from England.

Reckless of consequences, John went farther, and began to harass all barons who were suspected of sympathizing with the Church. There was one, William de Braose, once his favourite, of whom men whispered that he had connived at the murder of the boy Arthur in former years, when John had, by foulest deed, usurped his nephew's throne. But de Braose had repented, and had fallen from the favour of the king since then; and when his younger son, Bishop Giles of Hereford, was found to be acting as papal agent in the matter of the interdict, a peremptory order from the Court bade the earl furnish hostages for his loyalty. "No child of ours shall be entrusted to hands red with Arthur's blood," declared his wife, Matilda of Hay; and, consequently, within a few weeks, de Braose, one of the greatest barons in the realm, was a homeless fugitive with all his family. Thus was the cord between baron and clergy drawn tighter in the struggle for liberty against a despot. On the other hand, John made one desperate bid for the support of the barons by excusing the payment of taxes. His robbery of vacant sees and abbeys gave him large revenue, and what was lacking he obtained by pillaging the unhappy Jews.

In 1209 the dread sentence of excommunication was declared, and was received with outward defiance. Inwardly, the king, a true coward at heart, must have quailed when he noted the growing disaffection of his barons, the hostility of the Church, the estrangement of his people. Still more must he have been alarmed by the fate of his nephew, Otto of Saxony, excommunicated for invading the territory of the Church, and rejected by his subjects as king a few months later. Nor could he have felt anything but uneasiness when he heard of his brother-in-law, Raymond of Toulouse, supporter of a heretic sect, whose excommunication had likewise lost him his territories. Already, during the early years of his reign (1202-1204), his reckless selfishness had caused him to lose the whole of his empire in France, save the Channel Islands and part of Aquitaine. And now came news

of the Pope's sentence of deposition on an excommunicated king, which released his subjects from allegiance, and granted the kingdom of England to King Philip of France and to his heirs.

From across the Channel a French army faced his hastily gathered levies at Dover; and finding the hand of one whom all men respected and loved pressing hard upon him, John gave way. With fawning zeal, he not only agreed to accept the archbishop, but freely surrendered his kingdoms of England and Ireland to the Pope, to be held as fiefs of the Holy See. The nation looked on in grim astonishment. "He has become the Pope's man, and has forfeited the very name of king; for from a free man he has degraded himself into a serf" (1213).

Loss of French Dominions.—If John hoped that a tardy obedience would put him right at once with an offended nation, he was soon undeceived. When he called upon the barons to follow him in an expedition to Poitou, that was both to turn the tables on Philip and to recover his lost empire in France, they refused to move. The king at once moved his levies against them, and civil war would have broken out had not Archbishop Langton forced him with threats to submit the dispute to the decision of law. When at length he actually set out for France, only three Englishmen of rank accompanied him and his hired soldiers. Across the Channel just the opposite was the case; and for the first time since the days of Charlemagne, men from every part of France fought together under the banner of Philip of France at Bouvines (1214). The battle ended in a rout for John's followers, a success which laid the foundation-stone of the future unification of France. Of the vast Angevin Empire, only Aquitaine remained, to be finally lost in 1453.

The effect of this was not altogether bad for England. That Empire had been maintained at an increasing cost in men and money which could be better expended at home. On the other hand, she suffered distinct loss of international connections. From this time we may trace a small beginning of national "feeling," shown in dislike, almost unknown in this land since the Norman Conquest, of foreigners and of foreign interference.

§ 6. **Struggle with the Barons and the Great Charter.**—The immediate effect of what might well appear a national

disgrace was the union of Church and barons against the king. In vain John tried to draw away the former by favours and promises; his word was now held as worthless. For the many sees and benefices vacant since the interdict were still filled up at the royal choice, and a hasty charter of free election did not serve to blind those concerned. The real difficulty of the Church lay in the fact that John could now count on the Pope, the spiritual superior of every bishop, for support. But this did not prevent Archbishop Langton from throwing his weight upon the side of the barons for the wellbeing of the State in secular affairs. As for those barons, they had no scruples in the matter. Gathering their forces under FitzWalter, "the Marshal of the host of God and Holy Church," they openly marched upon the king for the purpose of compelling him to grant their demands. The next step was taken by the new citizen population. London opened her gates to the barons and allowed them to occupy the city. This settled the matter, for the capital, as we have seen, was a power that counted heavily. The Church, the barons, and the freemen of England were acting in organized forces, and before them the king gave way. At Runnymede in 1215 John signed the Great Charter of English liberties. He did not, however, intend to abide by it, for within three months he had raised his mercenaries against the barons, had won the support of Pope Innocent by false representations, and was laying the land waste in mean-spirited revenge. The only resource of the barons was to offer the crown to Louis, son of Philip of France; but the death of John in that same year turned the scale against the foreigner. The new Pope, Honorius, espoused the cause of the little English prince, Henry III., and recognized the Charter, and the hopes of the French prince came to an abrupt end.

The Great Charter.—The provisions of this famous document formed no new code of law, but merely restated the Charter of Henry I., and other earlier reforms, in more definite form. Its real importance lies in the fact that it checked the most striking feudal abuses; it justified the struggle against despotism; it contained the germ of the English parliamentary system, by its repeated assertion that the consent of the Great Council must be obtained before certain taxes were levied or laws made.

As we should expect in those days, the greatest advantages

were secured by the baronial party. The Church, it is true, was granted "all her ancient rights inviolate," but, beyond freedom of election to vacant sees, those rights were not specified.

The barons, on the other hand, obtained exemptions that throw a flood of light upon the abuses of the day. After fixing the sum payable in fees on succeeding to an estate, it was enacted that the guardian should receive only "reasonable" services for the lands of his ward; should not waste the property during the minority; should keep up houses and outbuildings, should not force widows to wed again or marry wards "to their disparagement." The feudal "aids" were reduced to three—marriage, ransom, knighthood of the heir.

More important, since they establish all the leading principles of constitutional government, are the provisions that affected the freeman of that day.

"Justice is not to be sold, delayed, or refused to any man."

"No freeman is to be taken, imprisoned, outlawed, or in any way destroyed except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the laws of the land."

"No scutage to be imposed except by the Common Council of the Realm."

"Merchants from friendly States to be free to come, and go, and trade, subject only to the payment of customs duties."

"Subjects not under sentence of law to be free to leave the realm and return, save in time of war."

Such were some of the chief provisions of a charter of freedom which it took many a long year to establish as a working part of the Constitution. But it forms a crisis in the struggle for freedom, and after its signature England no longer groaned under the feudal oppression of a despotic king. It played also an important part in drawing together the often hostile classes into which the land was divided. "From the time when this Charter was shown to the people," says Roger of Wendover, a chronicler of the time, "it carried all men with it. There was but one voice and one mind; all would stand as a wall in defence of the liberties of Church and Realm."

§ 7. **The Rise of Parliament,** 1265–1400.—Although the Great Charter had then made men to be "of one voice," that voice had still to make itself heard in a permanent and con-

stitutional manner. The reign of Henry III. was to see the machinery set up by which this was to be done. It was an incomplete and ineffective machine, it is true, but its very existence bore witness to the principle that the rights of every class of people should be considered. The reign of Edward I., far more important in this respect, developed the clumsy and temporary instrument of Simon de Montfort into something actually resembling a representative Parliament, although this gave no voice to the cry of the greater part of the population.

Simon de Montfort.—The story of the Rise of Parliament belongs to a late period of the struggle between barons and king, king and Church.

During the first sixteen years of the reign of Henry III. (1216-1232), the kingdom had been ruled in comparative peace by powerful barons such as William the Marshall and Hubert de Burgh. The ambition of the latter, and the fact that he governed almost as a despotic king, brought about his own downfall at the instigation of his rival, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. Incidentally, however, the rule of Hubert did much to strengthen the power of the monarchy, made unpopular by the heavy exactions of Richard I. and by the miseries of the reign of John. This accounts for the line taken by a king whose vocation was for the cloister rather than for the Court, and who, loving peace above all things, was forced to embroil himself with a discontented baronage, an exasperated clergy, and a growing town population tenacious of its rights. It must also be remembered, in studying the reign, that Henry was but a ten-year-old boy when he was crowned, that he inherited a heavy handicap from the anarchy of his father's reign, that he came very early under the influence of an astute foreign ecclesiastic, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and that he was obsessed, especially after his marriage with Eleanor of Provence, with the desire of restoring the lost provinces of the Angevin Empire to his realm. The crowds of foreigners to whom he gave his favour and some of the most important positions in the kingdom formed another stumbling-block in the way of a reasonable and just government, at a time when England needed to develop on her own lines.

For present purposes, however, we will confine our attention to the two main issues, the struggle with the Church and the

struggle with the barons, out of which was to come the first attempt at a representative Parliament.

Church and King.—To understand the coming phase of conflict we must turn to European affairs. In Europe, during the most critical years of Henry's reign (1227–1243), we find Pope Gregory IX. calling upon every nation to aid him in his struggle with the Emperor Frederic, "the last emperor to brave the terrors of the Church and to die beneath her ban." During the next period (1243–1261), again, we find his successor, Innocent IV., putting forth insistent demands from his place of exile at Lyons that the Church in every part of Christendom should send large contributions in money to support the cause of religion.

To some extent such claims were perfectly reasonable; but in England the Church was so distant from Rome that it was natural that keen resentment should be felt against constant and heavy taxation imposed by a Pope whose ends were often unknown or misunderstood.

The loss of the French domains, the crisis through which the Church in England had so lately passed, and especially the fact that this island kingdom was cut off by distance and position from taking a very active share in the conflict between Empire and Papacy, all served to stiffen the resistance of bishops, abbots, and priests against the demands of a Pope who knew little of their own internal difficulties at that time. When foreign clergy, who never set foot in England, were appointed to the richer English livings on condition that a large proportion of their incomes was handed over to the Papal Court, the grievance became acute; and when it was coupled with the perpetual demands of the king for money to pay his mercenaries still fighting in the hopeless French campaigns, it might well be said in the words of a popular ballad of that day:

> King and Pope, alike in this, to one purpose hold,
> How to make the clergy yield their silver and their gold.

The needs of the time created a reformer, who was yet a staunch upholder of the Papacy, in the person of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.

A strong supporter of the Friars, said by his tutor Roger Bacon to have been "perfect in divine and human knowledge," and a man of warm heart and sympathies, Grosse-

teste knew well the needs of his day, and was set upon reform. A born fighter, he began by attacking the many abuses close to his hand—the time-serving barons, the shortsighted weakness of the king, the lack of discipline in the Church. But his zeal for Church reform was his strongest passion, and he did not hesitate to oppose the demands of the Pope when those demands were not for the "edification of Christendom." "In such a case," he declares, "out of filial reverence and obedience I disobey, I resist, I rebel." So, when Innocent IV. demanded a stall in Lincoln Cathedral for his nephew, a lad not even in Holy Orders, he refused him to his face, and even read in his presence a list of the evils and abuses of the Papal Court at that period, to which Innocent listened in silence, but which had its result in the Bull of 1253, restoring full right of election and presentation to offices to the Church in England. In no sense, however, did the brave old prelate oppose the Papacy, and to claim him, as some non-Catholic writers have done, as a forerunner of the Reformation, is absurdity itself in the case of one whose life was spent in upholding and strengthening the Catholic Church.

The Sicilian Expedition.—The year 1254 saw fresh trouble in Italy. The kingdom of Sicily, during the long feud between Pope and Emperor, had been claimed by Innocent IV. Ignoring the demands of Conrad, son of Frederic, and of the former's half-brother, Manfred, the Pope offered the crown to Henry III. for his second son Edmund, on condition that he at once sent troops to enable him to force possession. Meantime, Manfred, by his defeat of the Papal army, had not only made good his claim to Sicily, but had exhausted the Papal treasury, in the attempt to oppose him. Money was now the pressing need of the new Pope, Alexander IV., and Henry, in his ambition for his son and his devotion to the Pope, saw no wrong in trying to force large sums from his English subjects. This demand met with blank refusal from the barons, a refusal which made the burden heavier for the bishops and abbots of the realm. In vain Henry was urged to give up the Sicilian project, and when at length the question was solved by the victory of Charles of Anjou, who defeated Manfred and became king of the kingdom in dispute, the English sovereign found that his obstinacy had wellnigh cost him his crown.

King and Barons.—Constant demands for money for foreign wars, the failure of attempts to win back the lost French provinces, the favour shown to foreigners, the weakness of the king and his ready acquiescence in the Papal exactions of the time—these things had roused a stern opposition against Henry among barons who had already begun to realize their power. All that they needed was a strong leader, and in 1258 that leader appeared in the person of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

Simon de Montfort, brother-in-law of the king, and a foreigner to boot, had, nevertheless, won the hearts of all classes in the kingdom, since Henry had taken over the reins of government in 1232. The friend of Bishop Grosseteste, the liberal patron of the Friars, the one strong man who stood out against the extortions of the king's advisers, it only needed that he should join the Crusade of 1246 "that he might not behold the evil of the nation and the desolation of the realm," to make him the hero of the people, their own "Earl Simon the Righteous." He was the one "man of vision" of those days, an idealist with pure motives opposed to a selfish baronage and an inefficient king. He it was who, in his zeal for the reform of a chaotic and muddled government, determined to uphold the rights, not of his own class of self-seeking barons, but of those of the important and increasing middle class, which represented the "People's Party" of those days. He it was who dominated the so-called "Mad Parliament," which met in 1258 to draw up the *Provisions of Oxford*, according to the views of a small but powerful party of reformers, who "giving their right hand to one another as a pledge of faith, swore they would not fail to prosecute their design through loss of lands or money, or through favour to their friends or their relations."

The committee thus formed quickly secured all authority, and reduced the king's power almost to nothing. Its main feature was that it claimed to be a representative body, appointed to set forth the views of the whole body of earls, barons, and tenants-in-chief. But far as this was from fulfilling the ideals of Earl Simon, it went too far for the baronial party, which preferred to spend its time in harassing its most able member, rather than in helping him to reform the grievances of the realm.

FRENCH DOMAIN OF HENRY III. c1259.

The years between 1259 and the outbreak of civil war in 1263 were filled with petty intrigues, jealousies, and suspicions. The royal party, always striving to regain its power, was weakened, both by the tactless position taken up by Prince Edward, the king's heir, who, with his guard of foreigners, deeply offended the nation; and by the efforts of Henry to force the citizens of London, the barons, and "all freemen of the realm" to swear fealty to his unpopular son. This was the signal for the first rising of the barons in 1263; a brief but effective campaign, in which three castles were taken and the lands of royalists and foreigners ravaged without mercy. But when the royalist party advanced on London, that city showed itself a type of the whole kingdom during these stirring years. Hopelessly divided against itself, the aldermen and chief citizens were for the king, the mayor and the "people" for the barons. The king, in nervous dread, lurked within the Tower, his son hastened to fortify his position in Windsor Castle, his wife, when she attempted to follow the prince, was insulted and pelted with filth when the royal barge passed down the river. An attempt at pacification was made by Louis IX. of France (St. Louis), but it was so obviously prejudiced in favour of Henry that it only hastened the inevitable conflict. King's men and barons' men met at Lewes in 1264; and the rashness of Prince Edward, who pursued the flying Londoners and came back to find the battle lost and his father a prisoner, settled the outcome. For a year the government of the kingdom was in the hands of Earl Simon de Montfort.

A "Representative Parliament," 1265.—Whatever was the motive of a man about whose character opinions conflict as much to-day as in his own period, the fact is clear that Simon used his power to make the Great Council, for the first time in history, to some degree representative of the various classes in the country. Clearer still is the growth in importance of the towns, which, accustomed by this time to little representative "parliaments" of their own in municipality and gild, now sent two burghers to sit by the side of two knights from every shire, with the barons and abbots and bishops of the realm. The expedient may have been a temporary one, to ensure support for Simon, since the burgher members seem only to have been sent from towns known to be loyal to him, but it certainly contained the germ of a repre-

sentative assembly. Moreover, it was a practical development of the *Provisions of Oxford*, drawn up in 1258, which, after providing that "from every shire there shall be elected four knights," to lay the affairs of the shire-courts before the "three parliaments" of each year, adds, "It is to be remembered that the *commonalty* elect twelve good men who shall come to the parliaments and at other times, as need shall arise, when the king and his council shall command them to treat of the needs of king and kingdom."

Jealousy on the part of his fellow-barons brought about the fall of Simon de Montfort within six months of the calling together of his "packed," yet fairly representative, assembly. He fell at Evesham (1265), and the royal power, by swift reaction, was at once restored.

His work, however, did not perish with him. Edward I., once his implacable foe, realized the importance of a weapon that could be employed against the barons, by encouraging the "commons," the members of "communes," or corporations, to make their voices heard. In his *Model Parliament* of 1295 sat representatives of the "three estates of the realm: clergy, barons, and commons." The latter included such organized bodies of freemen as were entitled to take part in the work of the county or shire court, and in that of city, borough, or gild. They represented, therefore, knights, freeholders, and citizens, and thus a long step was taken towards freeing the country from the feudal tyranny of a few strong earls. The greater barons, summoned by special writ, not by election, developed later into the House of Lords.

Development of Parliament, fourteenth century.—During the fourteenth century the rapid advance in power of this assembly can be best seen by a few striking instances.

In *1297* the *Confirmatio Cartarum* insisted on the consent of Parliament before new taxation was imposed.

In *1310*, when a small body of barons, the "Lords Ordainers," were attempting to rule the kingdom in place of the weak king Edward II., a Parliament at York not only dismissed these Ordainers, but declared that "all matters to be established for the estate of our lord the king, the realm, and the people, shall be treated, granted, and established in Parliament by our lord the king, and by the consent of the clergy, earls, and barons, and *by the Commonalty* of the realm."

Between the years *1340* and *1362*, owing to the king's pressing

need of raising money for his French war, Parliament forced Edward III. to acknowledge the illegality of taxation "at the king's will."

In *1362* Parliament definitely refused to allow a tax on wool without its consent.

In *1376* the *Good Parliament,* supported by Edward the Black Prince, asserted its right to deal with public abuses, and dismissed from Court the worthless woman, Alice Perrers, under whose evil influence the old king had fallen.

In *1388* the *Merciless Parliament* condemned the royal misgovernment in the reign of Richard II.

In *1407* Henry IV., having seized the Crown by force, was forced by the Commons to concede to them the exclusive right of making grants of money for public purposes. In this reign, since Henry's weak title to the throne kept him dependent on the support of the "commonalty," Parliament increased in power and independence, and by the end of the fourteenth century had some voice in finance, legislation, and administration.

On the other hand, its system of representation was still so defective that the voice of the agricultural part of the nation—the peasant, the labourer, the small farmer—was only heard in tones of revolt and ineffective complaint. And its real weakness is seen in the fact that under the influence of "factions," in the days of Henry VI., and of absolutism in the days of Edward IV., it practically collapsed.

EXERCISES

1. Trace the process of growth in any one development of the thirteenth century.
2. Sketch the rise of the English towns, illustrating your account by any mediæval town with which you are familiar.
3. What part did the gilds play in social life? Is there anything to be said for or against their revival nowadays?
4. Show clearly the influence of the Friars on Mediæval England. What remains of their mediæval dwellings do you know of?
5. Describe a day in a Mediæval University.
6. What do you consider was the real importance of the Great Charter?
7. Sketch the circumstances under which the first "Parliament" arose. On what models was it founded?
8. Discuss the work and character of Simon de Montfort.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1066. Coronation of William I.
1068–9. Revolts in West and North.
1086. The Oath of Salisbury.
Domesday Book.
1093. Anselm Archbishop.
1096. First Crusade.
1100. Charter of Henry I.
1135. Stephen of Blois King.
1141. Matilda elected Lady of England.
1147. Second Crusade.
1153. Treaty of Wallingford.
1154. Accession of Henry II.
1162. Becket Archbishop.
1164. Constitutions of Clarendon.
1170. Murder of Becket.
1172. Partial occupation of Ireland.
1174. William of Scotland paid homage.
1189. Henry at war with his sons.
Accession of Richard I.
Richard I. joins Third Crusade.
1198. Refusal of Great Council to render military service beyond seas.
1206. Stephen Langton Archbishop.
1209. Excommunication of King John.
1213. Submission of John to the Pope.
1215. Signing of Great Charter.
1216. Accession of Henry III.
1219. Hubert de Burgh Justiciar.
1220–40. Coming of the Friars.
1242. Loss of Poitou.
1258. Provisions of Oxford.
1264. Battle of Lewes.
1265. Simon de Montfort's Parliament.
1295. Model Parliament of Edward I.
1297. *Confirmatio Cartarum.*

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

CHAPTER VIII

REVOLTS AT HOME AND WARS ABROAD—THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY (1300–1400)

CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND RULERS

England.	*Scotland.*	*France.*
Edward II., 1307	Robert I., 1306	Louis X., 1314
Edward III., 1327	David II., 1329	Philip V., 1316
Richard II., 1377	Robert II., 1371	Charles IV., 1322
	Robert III., 1390	Philip VI., 1328
		John, 1350
		Charles V., 1364
		Charles VI., 1380

Western Empire.	*Papacy.*
Henry VII., 1308	Clement V., 1305
Louis IV., 1314	John XXII., 1316
Charles IV., 1347	Benedict XII., 1334
Wenzel, 1378	Clement VI., 1342
Rupert, 1400	Innocent VI., 1352
	Urban V., 1362
	Gregory XI., 1370
	The Great Schism, 1378–1417

General Survey.—A period of very rapid growth is too often followed by a time of weakness and decay, and this was the case, to some extent at least, in the fourteenth century. In it we shall find, it is true, an expansion of energy, in trade and labour and commerce, that was the direct fruit of the great movements of the preceding period. But it also contained many elements of weakness. In Europe the Papacy, the heart of Christendom, became more and more entangled in political matters till, rent by the Great Schism of forty years (1378–1417), one pope ruled at Rome and another at Avignon, the latter being practically a prisoner in the hands of the French king.

In England we get the reflection of this in the growth of

a worldly and aristocratic spirit among the monastic landowners, once so democratic and vigorous in social reform; in the hardships suffered by the peasants under the rule of a few and increasingly self-interested group of great nobles; in the devastating miseries caused by the Hundred Years' War, a calamity which hindered the progress of both England and France for the greater part of the century. The earlier part of this period is marked by the conquest of Wales, counterbalance dimmediately by the revolt of Scotland against English rule.

§ 1. **The Conquest of Wales and the Freedom of Scotland: Conquest of Wales,** 1281–1284.—The Barons' War in England had given a spirited prince such as "the Lord Llewelyn" of Wales ample opportunity for asserting the independence of his province. At the same time he assisted the revolt of Simon de Montfort in 1277, when, summoned to do homage at the accession of Edward I., he refused to obey. This was Edward's excuse for a prompt march upon Wales, which led to the subjection of the South and later to that of the North. "That year (1277)," says a contemporary historian, "in the beginning of harvest, the king sent a great part of his army into Mona (Anglesey) which burnt much of the country and took away much of the corn. And on the calends of winter after that, Llewelyn came to the king at Rhuddlan and made his peace with him. . . ."

Stringent measures followed upon his submission. A road from Chester to Conway opened up the hitherto impregnable fastnesses of North Wales, and from every danger-point great castles, ruled by English governors, frowned upon the land. Moreover, since he regarded them as little better than primitive savages, Edward made the rash mistake of forcing English laws and customs upon a people who had inherited a legacy of fierce hatred from their forefathers, the unconquered Britons. The result may best be told in the words of a contemporary chronicler:[1]

"In the year 1281, about the Feast of the Annunciation, Llewelyn, the disturber of the peace made between himself and the king, instigated by his brother David, began to attack Flint and Rhuddlan Castles, and to waste the surrounding country. . . . At length the king summoned the nobles of the realm and held a Parliament at Worcester on the Feast

[1] Thomas Wykes' Chronicle.

of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and it was there arranged that all the magnates of the realm should meet the king with horses and arms on the Feast of St. Peter in Chains on the Welsh border.

"In the meantime David and his followers took prisoner and slew Lord Roger Clifford and many of his people. Then the king, gathering his forces, took vengeance on Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, by most cruelly laying waste his lands. . . . The king stayed near Rhuddlan till the Feast of All Saints, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent to Llewelyn in Snowdon to warn him and persuade him to make peace with the king . . . but he could not be induced to come to terms. The archbishop therefore excommunicated Llewelyn, the perjured disturber of the peace, his brother David and all their supporters.

"About the Feast of St. Thomas, as Llewelyn was coming down from Snowdon with a little band, on some business or other, he was met by Edmund Mortimer with a small escort and slain with all his followers. The head of the prince was cut off and brought to the king, who sent it to London and had it fixed on a spear above the Tower of London as a token of his splendid victory.

"Encouraged by his success, the king had a suitable road made for him and entered Snowdon in triumph, and kept Easter there in the Cistercian Monastery of Aberconway. And he portioned out the whole of the principality of Wales at his pleasure, with the exception of the castle which is called Bere and is surrounded by an impassable marsh with very narrow and difficult entries by a single road. Into it, after his brother's death, David had thrown a garrison, while he himself lay hid in the woods. But the king besieged the castle so closely that they were compelled to surrender it to him; and thereon he made a bargain with some Welshmen that they should surrender David as a prisoner; and he sent him with his wife and son to Rhuddlan, and loaded him with fetters; and afterwards by the agreement of the chief men of the realm, both from among the burgesses and the magnates, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head carried off to be set on the Tower of London."

The conquest of Wales had been thorough, but it was not Edward's intention to crush a nation peculiarly proud of its ancient freedom. The *Statute of Wales* (*1284*) introduced

the main features of English government; the land was divided into shires, and many castles, new and old, were granted to English "magnates." But the old Welsh laws and customs were preserved, and though her unity with England was emphasized by the title of "Prince of Wales" given to the heir to the English throne, that unity was not explicitly declared till the year 1536, when, in the reign of Henry VIII., the country was "incorporated" with England and sent representatives to the English Parliament.

§ 2. **The Independence of Scotland.**—That Edward's next object should be the "conquest" of Scotland was a foregone conclusion. The Scottish kings, or chieftains, had, it is true, paid homage to the English rulers from time to time, but, more frequently, they had claimed independence, on the score that homage had been due for fiefs held in England, not in Scotland. The Scots, moreover, were a constant source of menace, not only to the North of England, but also to the nobles of Norman blood who had established themselves in the Lowlands, and who were always at variance with the native Celtic chieftains of the Highlands. There was much to be said for drawing the two countries together by bonds of mutual advantage. Unfortunately for Edward I., his policy of "anglicizing" the northern kingdom brought the scheme to confusion.

The opportunity came when, in 1290, the death of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, a five-year-old heiress to the throne, produced a crowd of claimants, of whom John Baliol and Robert Bruce held the best titles. Both were of Norman descent and were as much barons of England as of Scotland. Quick to seize the chance of settling the matter as overlord, Edward chose Baliol, the weaker character, and, through him, at once began to impose an English policy, for which the land was by no means prepared. Two points were particularly resented: by English custom, those implicated in cases of law had to undertake the long and dangerous journey to the king's courts at Westminster; by the king's demand, Scottish barons must support him in his wars abroad.

Enraged at the weakness of Baliol, a chieftain whom they regarded as "Toom Tabard," or Empty Jacket, the Scots proceeded in 1295 to make alliance with France, then at war with England—the first of many such alliances during the next three centuries—and in 1296 to force Baliol to open

CONTINENTAL DOMINIONS OF EDWARD III AT THE TREATY OF BRETIGNY. English possessions

revolt. But there was no unity of action among the Scots. Each Scottish noble did his best within his own domain, but after the fall of Berwick, "Scotland's gate," one castle after another fell before the onslaught of Edward. Dunbar, guarding the road to Edinburgh, and defended stoutly by the brave Countess of March, gave him the most trouble, but after its fall the great fortresses of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth opened their gates and Baliol submitted the land as a forfeited fief to the English king.

At once Edward renewed his policy, intent now on making Scotland a mere dependency of England. The ancient coronation stone, removed from Scone to Westminster, reminded the Scots of the loss of their kingdom's independence, as much as the galling restrictions of Earl Warrenne, the English governor. It only needed the appearance of a patriot, such as William Wallace, at Stirling, to rouse the warlike natives to the defeat of the local English forces in 1297. A year of constant warfare between his followers and the border lords was followed by the defeat of Wallace at Falkirk (1298).

The next five years were filled with a spirit of unrest. The Scots, still fighting intermittently for freedom, were treated as rebels by Edward. Even when a kind of submission was offered, he would make no generous terms with them, and the concession of allowing Scottish judges to act together with English and Scottish representatives in the English Parliament, was counterbalanced by his revenge upon Wallace, the people's hero, when the latter fell into his power.

On the other hand, it is but fair to remember that Wallace, the only rebel to refuse submission in this revolt, was also the only one to suffer the extreme penalty, and that Edward certainly treated with mercy and leniency the Scottish barons who submitted, in spite of their broken vows of allegiance.

Suddenly, when thirteen years of warfare seemed to have resulted in success, the flame burst out anew. Baliol was now dead, and to his nephew John, the "Red Comyn," it fell to recover the independence of his country. But one dark evening, within the choir of the Church of the Minorites at Dumfries, Comyn was murdered by Robert Bruce, grandson of the earlier claimant, who had hitherto played a traitorous game by alternately joining the cause of his countrymen, and, when they failed, proffering his allegiance to the English Court. Now, however, the murder of Comyn forced Bruce

into the open. He at once claimed the Scottish throne, and was crowned without opposition at Scone (1306). The old King Edward died before he could avenge his perjury, but he made his son vow a solemn vow that he would "punish the Scots for their broken faith, looking on them not as a noble nation fighting for liberty, but as a perjured and rebellious company of outlaws, whom it would be a shame to him as a king and as a knight not to punish."

Within the next eight years, taking advantage of the weakness of Edward II., who left the war in the hands of Aylmer de Valence, Bruce had won the independence of Scotland. One by one the castles fell into his hands, little by little his condition changed from that of a hunted outlaw to that of a national hero and leader. The determination and strategy that defeated the vastly superior English army at *Bannockburn*, in 1314, established the independence of the land, which was openly acknowledged by a treaty, known to the English as the *Shameful Treaty of Northampton*, in the year 1328.

The sympathies of English and Scottish leaders alike are with those who upheld a gallant and successful struggle for freedom, but the result of this conflict must not be overlooked. For the next three centuries the borderlands of England and Scotland were harassed by constant feuds and lawless "cattle liftings" that made the region an impoverished and desert waste. The Northerners declared "it was not worth while to rebuild a church roof, since the Scots would come and burn it again directly." And the Scots gained but a barren victory, since their hatred of all things English hindered for long years their growth in a civilization that was even in later days confined to the southern counties of the Lowlands.

§ 3. **The Hundred Years' War.**—We have seen that the attempt of Edward I. to unite Great Britain had resulted in the definite assertion of feudal rights over Wales, and the no less definite loss of those same rights in Scotland. Let us now consider briefly the result of a similar claim in France.

The Hundred Years' War: First Period, 1340-1360—(*a*) *European Aspect.*—From the year 1328, when Philip VI. (of Valois) became king of France, a determined effort had been made to draw together the great French domains ruled by

independent feudal barons, and to consolidate them into one united kingdom. One method of bringing this about was to occupy the energy of the feudal vassals in constant warfare in a common cause, instead of against the king or one another. Hence the readiness of Philip to embark on war with England.

(*b*) *English Aspect.*—The same motive was also at work in England, but a yet stronger one was the need of curbing the growing power of France, which henceforth had to be considered as the ally of Scotland. Thrice did Edward III. try to insist on his lost feudal claims over the latter by upholding the rights of Edward Baliol, son of the "Toom Tabard"; and in spite of the defeat of feudal barons, such as Earl Douglas, at *Halidon Hill* (1333), thrice had he failed. By the year 1341, not only was David Bruce firmly established on the Scottish throne, but Philip of France was openly sending aid to the patriot party, and harassing the English merchant ships as they passed between Flanders and England.

In France, part of one province, that of Aquitaine, still owed allegiance to the English king, and so became the peculiar object of Philip's hostile intentions. But the danger of losing Aquitaine was a small matter to England in comparison with that of the threatened loss of the woollen trade in Flanders. For many years Bruges and Ghent had been markets for English wool, which, transformed into fine cloth by Flemish weavers, was the main source of wealth for that part of Europe. When, therefore, Count Louis of Flanders, a strong ally of Philip of France, suddenly ordered all English traders from his borders, and imprisoned those who refused to flee, both England and Flanders were hard hit. The various gilds of clothworkers met on both sides of the Channel, and while English workers pledged themselves to support Edward in a war with France, the Flemish gilds, led by Jacob van Artevelde, a brewer of Ghent, bound themselves to the same course, on the plea that though they owed allegiance to the King of France, that king need not necessarily be Philip VI.

This question of allegiance is thus discussed in the pages of the chronicler Froissart:

"At Brussels the King of England was sore desired of all his allies of the Empire that he should require them of Flanders to aid and to maintain his war, and to defy the French king and to go with him wherever he would have them; and he in return promised to recover them Lille, Douay, and

Bethune. This request was well heard of the Flemings; and after taking counsel at good leisure they said to the king: "Sir, we would gladly do this; but we be bound by faith and oath and on the sum of two millions of florins in the Pope's chamber that we make nor move no war against the King of France, under pain of losing the said sum and to run the risk of cursing. But sir, if ye will take on you the arms of France and call yourself king, then we will take you for rightful king of France and demand of you quittance of our bonds, so that ye give us pardon thereof as king; and then we will go with ye whithersoever ye will have us.'"

This matter of the threatened wool industry was, then, the main reason for the claim made by Edward III. to the French Crown. The claim itself was doubly invalid, since the Salic Law of France barred his inheritance through his mother, Isabella, and a nearer claimant existed, even if Philip were set aside. But other reasons, besides the industrial one, urged Edward to engage in war. The royal power was still menaced by the magnates, or feudal barons, men who had refused to carry on the foreign wars of his predecessors. From the royal point of view it was essential to employ the surplus energies of these men in fighting for and not against the Crown; and from the barons' standpoint a war for a kingdom was a very different matter from the remote conflicts of former reigns. Moreover, Edward was astute enough to bring all the machinery of chivalry to his aid. He himself posed before Europe as the "Prince of Chivalry"; his son, the Black Prince, while still a young boy, was set up as the hero of two nations after his gallant exploits at Crécy; and partly by accident, partly by design, the whole of the first period of the long war came to be filled with dramatic situations and picturesque effects. Interesting as these are, the actual events of the war, though we may briefly note them here, are far less important than its effect upon England and France.

Events of the Hundred Years' War, Period 1340–1360.—In 1340 the raids of the French pirates on the South Coast were avenged by a naval victory at *Sluys*, which almost destroyed the whole of the French fleet and earned for Edward the title of "King of the Sea." In 1345 the war on land began, a war, it must be realized, with Scotland as well as France, and the following year saw the double victory

of *Crécy* and *Neville's Cross*. King David was captured at the latter, the former laid open the road to Calais.

Two points of importance stand out here. The war could not be waged without money, and this the king must obtain from the Commons, now sitting as a separate House of Parliament. Edward chose to pretend that this body was responsible for the war; the members replied by a declaration that no money would be forthcoming from taxation unless they were safeguarded by statute from the imposition of "aids" and taxes without their consent. This procedure, which is repeated again and again throughout this period, shows how the war tended to throw power into the hands of Parliament, and to transfer control over taxation from the Crown to the people.

The next point of importance is this. The Hundred Years' War, begun in a spirit of national patriotism, was fought by an army differing greatly from the reluctant feudal hosts of former days, which were largely composed of serfs. The fourteenth-century army no longer depended entirely on the heavy cavalry of barons and knights. The winners of Crécy and Calais and Poitiers were the yeomen with the long bow, freeholders and volunteers, who fought under their "purveyor," the magnate who had "provided" them, not only for good pay, but also for "love of their natural lords." They thus combined "the best points of the national levy, the national militia, and the new principle of mercenaries."[1]

The army of France, on the other hand, was composed of heavy cavalry, mounted knights and barons who disdained to fight side by side with an infantry composed of serfs.

It was the triumph of infantry over cavalry at this period that struck a deathblow at the whole spirit of feudalism, whose mainspring had always been the power, both for good and evil, of the "man with the horse."

Eight months after Crécy, the long siege of Calais ended in a capitulation, of which the outstanding feature is the picturesque incident of the intervention of Queen Philippa on behalf of the condemned burghers. As far as England was concerned, the fate of Calais was by far the most important incident of the war. For Calais commanded the "narrow seas," and with Dover formed henceforth one of the "two eyes of England." It also became one centre or "staple"

[1] A. L. Smith.

of the woollen trade for the Continent, and a secure port for merchants travelling to Continental markets.

Nearly nine years of truce followed the fall of Calais. In 1356 the war was renewed in the South of France by the Black Prince, whose victory at *Poitiers* was another triumph of infantry over cavalry. This battle left John, King of France since 1350, a prisoner in English hands, while his son, the Dauphin Charles, tried in vain to rule a country devastated by war, by feudal insurrection, and by a terrible revolt of the peasants, known as the *Jacquerie*. At length, the devastation of the whole of France by English troops and rebel peasants led to the *Treaty of Bretigny*, in 1360. This ended the first period of the war.

By this treaty, Edward gave up his claim to the Crown, and received, instead, the whole duchy of Aquitaine, embracing the region between the Loire and the Pyrenees, as an independent state, together with the region of Ponthieu and Guisnes, which included Calais.

From the moment of this apparent triumph, the period of failure may be dated. It was inevitable, since the allegiance of Frenchmen, accustomed to years of English cruelty and devastation, was not likely to be held by an English king.

Nine years after the treaty, the Black Prince, now ruler of Aquitaine, had involved himself in a disastrous war against his ancient foe Bertrand du Guesclin, the supporter of Henry of Trastamare against Pedro the Cruel of Spain. His attempt to wring money from his subjects in Aquitaine for this purpose caused a revolt of the lords of that land, who ranged themselves on the side of Charles, now King of France, and demanded freedom from English rule. The death of the prince and the wholesale revolt of the province against an absentee king, now grown old and feeble, led, within the next few years, to the loss of all the English possessions, save the strip round Calais, and the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne.

Thus the second period of the great war ended in failure and disaster for England as far as military glory was concerned. Its effect on English trade and commerce was more encouraging.

The Wool Trade.—The general effect of war upon the woollen industry was bound to be bad. Ships were scarce, skilled workers were wanting, travelling was insecure, and, above all, the ruin of France naturally lessened the demand.

SCOTLAND 1280-1350
to illustrate WARS OF EDWARDS I. II. III.

Indirectly, however, England was the gainer. The condition of Flanders, rent during this period by civil war, sent many Flemish weavers into England, to the advantage and development of English cloth manufacture. The need of constant supplies of money for his army forced Edward to pay attention to the interests of the trading class from which that money came. The possession of Calais as a "staple" town made England independent to a large extent of the Flemish cities. Still more important, the need of money for the war led immediately to a measure known as the *Ordinance of the Staple* (1353). By this arrangement, certain English towns and their nearest ports—York and Hull, Lincoln and Boston, Norwich and Yarmouth, Westminster and London, Canterbury and Sandwich, Winchester and Southampton—became "staples" for the wool trade. These staple towns were governed by a mayor and "constables" elected annually by the native and foreign merchants of each place, who exercised jurisdiction, apart from the common law or customs of the place, over all persons concerned in the trade. These officials were responsible also for the regulation and collection of customs duties, and for the inauguration of a considerable amount of "free trade" between England and the Continent. This arrangement brought a very marked increase of trade to England, and a corresponding development in the importance of the industry. The chief rivals of the English commercial companies thus formed were the Hanse Merchants of Germany, who from their settlements at Bergen, Novgorod, Bruges, organized the greater part of the foreign trade of the Continent, and had an important centre at the steel yard on the banks of the Thames. No doubt a little wholesome rivalry of this sort was of great advantage to the trade.

§ 4. **The Revolt of the Peasant.**—So far, our study of the fourteenth century has shown us the growth in power of the "communes," the importance of the yeoman class, the development of the freedom of merchant and trader and artisan. And now at length it was the turn of the peasant, the agricultural worker upon whom the country depended for its very existence, to make heard a voice that had been silent through three centuries.

The tendency of the feudal system, as we have seen, had been to reduce the condition of the peasant proprietor to that of serfdom. This condition was characterized by obligation

to give unpaid services upon the land of the overlord, though in one sense the possession of a strip, or scattered strips, of ground for his own production of crops, put the villein at least in the position of a "free allotment" holder.

Gradually, during the thirteenth century, this earlier stage of serfdom had been modified. Yet in the eyes of the law the villein remained a serf till after the Great Revolt, though there is a certain amount of evidence to show that the tendency of the age, under the influence of the Church, was to set him free when occasion arose, to accept money payment in place of service, and, later, to pay for services rendered. The main badge of servitude was the obligation to remain on the same estate, and there were agencies at work that tended to free the villein even from this.

An age of progress and advance in civilization, the splendid demands of chivalry, the zest for building, all meant a constant demand for ready money; and this was never forthcoming under a system by which rents were paid in labour. Hence the custom grew up of exchanging the services of villeins for money payment. This left the villein free to cultivate his own strips of land, and gave him also the opportunity of acting as the hired labourer of his former owner at need. The advantage was mutual, for the landlord gained better service than under the old compulsory plan, and could employ his servants when and where he wished; while the villein for the first time received a definite return for services rendered. When the landlord had obtained the labourers he needed, he was not unwilling that the remainder should take service elsewhere; hence the villein or peasant became "detached from the land," and practically free. Often the strips of land vacated by those who departed to the towns, or to other estates, were rented by one or two of the more substantial villeins, who thus formed the nucleus of a class of yeomen, freeholders, to all intents and purposes, whose importance in national crises has been already seen.

In view of these steps towards the goal of freedom, let us see what were the causes that led to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

Causes of the Peasants' Revolt, 1381.—Although the peasant had thrown off some of his chains, he was still, in the eyes of the law, a serf. We have seen how the artisans of the town had safeguarded their freedom by charters and gilds; but the

worker on the land had no such protection, and no redress in the lawcourts for the most flagrant injustice. As late as 1347 the manor rolls at Cambridge record the bribe paid to the servants of Prince Lionel of Antwerp "that they might not seize our corn"; the sum paid by "Edyth at Sherde for licence to marry and quit the manor"; the expenses of "6 men, going about the country and to London to seek stolen oxen," where the context shows the thieves to have been "king's servants." Moreover, it only needed that the fast-changing social conditions should be shaken by tragedy in a rather more dramatic form than usual, to bring about a general revolt against the old state of affairs.

This tragedy came under the aspect of the Black Death, a more than usually severe form of pestilence that, in the year 1349, ravaged the country districts even more than the towns. The effect of this plague upon the rural population has probably been exaggerated, for it was the tendency of the Middle Ages to think "in thousands," but one or two facts speak for themselves. Thus, at Heacham, near Hunstanton, a dispute between a man and his wife about a dowry was to be heard by the steward of the manor in the manorial court in two months' time. When the day came, the husband and all the witnesses were dead of the plague. In one year more than eight hundred Norfolk parishes lost their parish priests by death, and during the same period the great city cemetery near Norwich Cathedral had been literally crammed with the dead.

In the thick of the misery were to be found the Friars, true to their ideal of brotherhood, and it is not surprising to find that the whole settlement of Franciscans at Norwich, as well as the Augustinians of Heveringland, perished amid the infectious hovels of town and country. Nor did London escape, for in 1349 Parliament was prorogued, "since the deadly pestilence in Westminster and in the City of London and other places thereabouts was increasing with extraordinary severity."

The effect of a loss of a large part of the population was bound to make itself felt in the world of agriculture, already restive and discontented. Labour became extremely scarce; women and children were more generally to be seen at the ploughs or driving the waggon. "Sheep and cattle strayed through the fields and corn and there were none left who

could drive them." The whole machinery of service became hopelessly disorganized.

This was the time chosen by the great landowners, themselves hard hit by dearth and scarcity, to revive the old exactions, and not merely to insist on the utmost amount of unpaid service, but also to obtain the necessary paid labour at the lowest possible rate.

On the other hand, the villeins, finding themselves indispensable, seized the opportunity to demand higher wages; and so, between the years 1351 and 1381, there was a war well known to modern times, the first version of the contest between employer and wage-earner. In those days the voice of the landowner was loudest heard. The first *Statute of Labourers*, in 1351, points out that " because a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants, late died of the pestilence, many, seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they may receive excessive wages, and some are rather willing to beg in idleness than by labour to get their living." And some years later the poet John Gower laments that " the world goeth fast from bad to worse when shepherd and cowherd demand more for their labour than the master bailiff was wont to take in days gone by. . . . Labourers of old were not wont to eat of wheaten bread but of beans or coarse corn and their drink of water alone. Cheese and milk were a feast to them, and their dress was of hodden grey. Then was the world ordered aright for folk of this sort."

Those who worked among the labourers, however, sounded a different note. Invariably we find the Friars on the side of the poor against the rich. For instance, we find three " serving men " punished for attending the meetings of a certain Friar preacher, Brother William Barton, who was endeavouring, apparently, to set up a kind of trade union of the poorer workmen against the rich and overbearing merchants of the Gild of Cordwainers.

Bitter was the cry of the peasant: " ' God speed the plough.' Yea, verily, for we maintain the whole world; the parson comes to us for his tithe of sheaves, the king's purveyors for wheat, oats, beef, mutton, butter, and poultry to be delivered at Court. We have to pay both taxes and rent—everyone wants something from us. Ye may well say ' God speed the plough.' "

Resistance to statutes that made it obligatory to take the wages paid before the plague, and heavily punished the labourer who left the service of his master, was inevitable, when the cost of living was rising every day. In vain did Parliament seek to control the prices of food and of boots and shoes. The fatal step had been taken of trying to reduce the labourer to a condition from which he had largely won his freedom, and the consequence was the revolt of 1381.

A less immediate incitement was an Act of the first year of Richard II., which annulled all claims to freedom based upon Domesday records. A more immediate spur to action during this period was the teaching of the followers of Wycliffe and especially of John Ball, known as the "mad priest of Kent," who openly preached socialism and the destruction of class barriers. It only needed the imposition of a poll-tax, called for by the effect of the disastrous Hundred Years' War upon an impoverished nation, to set revolt afoot. The injustice of a tax amounting to about fifteen shillings a head, imposed upon poor and rich alike, roused the whole peasantry of the South-Eastern counties in rebellion. Wat Tyler from Kent, and parish priests from Essex and Hertford, led vast crowds to London; and all over the country riots broke out, which demanded the same concessions. Villeinage was to be abolished, rents reduced, free access given to fairs and markets, and free peasant proprietors established under the royal government.

"What lack ye, my masters?" cried the boy king at Mile End; and the answer raised an echo through England never to be lost: "We will that ye free us for ever, us and our lands, and that we be never more named nor held for serfs."

The revolt itself ended in failure and disaster for the peasants. Their own violence, the death of their leader, the refusal of the magnates to uphold the promises of the king, left them in some respects worse off than before. For by a new device to keep up their number, the child of a villein, boy or girl, who had "served at the plough and cart" till the age of twelve, was bound by law "to abide thereat and not to be taught other mystery [occupation] or handicraft."

Yet this apparent failure was really a stride towards freedom. It is true that throughout the fifteenth century and well into the sixteenth we find unpaid service exacted,

and royal manors where serfs were not emancipated till the days of Queen Elizabeth. But though no sweeping change occurred, it is clear that the new conditions of agriculture, and still more the rapid advance in trade and industry, were all in favour of the free labourer. By the middle of the fifteenth century it had become the custom, rather than the exception, to receive a money rent in place of service, for otherwise the landlord lost his tenant and the tenant made his way to the town. The growth, too, of the class of small farmers, who themselves became the employers of labour, must have affected the position of the latter. For the yeoman was a practical man and not so far removed from the servant he hired. "He could keep well garner and bin," says Chaucer, "he knew by the drought and the rain what would be the yielding of his seed and grain. Full rich he was in private store; he knew how to buy better than his lord."

Wycliffe and the Lollards.—We have seen that the Revolt of the Peasants was, to some extent, the result of the teaching of Wycliffe and his followers the Lollards.

As the friend of John of Gaunt, the evil genius of the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., John Wycliffe, Master of Baliol College, became conspicuous in the latter years of the former king. He has been called by Protestant writers the "Morning Star of the Reformation," an epithet as misleading as it is incorrect. It is true that he reflected the spirit of discontent which had been stirred up all over Europe by the unhappy schism in the Papacy; but that did not mean that he was in the least in favour of breaking away from Rome. It was rather the scandalous condition of the Court, the open degradation of the small aristocratic body of nobles, combined with a frequent and irritating demand for money from a Pope who understood English conditions very imperfectly, that made Wycliffe a rebel against the government, both of Church and State. This had its usual reaction on himself, and in his later years led him into heresy on the doctrine of transubstantiation, the great and all-important doctrine of Mediæval England, since upon it hung the Mass, the mainspring of daily life and action. But it would be absurd to imagine that this attracted the people. What influenced them, and made Lollardry popular, was his open advocacy of their material rights, and his teaching of what we should now call a kind of socialism. That his opinions

would have led to widespread heresy on the one side and anarchy on the other is extremely doubtful, for though he and his " system " became the fashion for a time, the wisdom of the Church in depriving him of the chance of notoriety through a trial for heresy, left him to a life of inglorious seclusion at Lutterworth. His followers were sharply suppressed when they endeavoured to perpetuate his teaching, and within a century after his death Lollardry was a thing of the past.

The only importance of his work is that it is another proof of the widespread discontent and friction of that day, when " social ill-ease, the parent of all the heresies," was preoccupying the minds of men to an unwholesome extent. As to what was the position taken by the Church with regard to the reform of Church discipline, we have indications in such statutes as *Præmunire*, which, in 1353 and 1393, forbade appeals to the Pope against the decisions of the English courts, and *Provisors* in 1351 and 1390, which made it illegal to accept ecclesiastical offices in England from the Papacy. These statutes were unopposed by the bishops and abbots who sat in the Parliament of that day, and were in no sense *anti-papal*. They were, rather, attempts to make clear, at a critical and abnormal period of divided papal rule, what were some of the difficulties with which the Church in this country had to contend.

EXERCISES

1. Account for the fact that Wales was won and Scotland lost to England at this period.
2. What were the underlying causes of the Hundred Years' War? Sketch its effects on England.
3. Describe the social forces that led, in your opinion, most directly to the Peasants' Revolt.

CHAPTER IX

THE FALL OF FEUDALISM—THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (1400–1500)

CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND RULERS

England.	*Scotland.*	*France.*
Henry IV., 1402	James I., 1406	Charles VI., 1380
Henry V., 1413	(Regency of Albany)	Charles VII., 1422
Henry VI., 1422	James II., 1437	Louis XI., 1461
Edward IV., 1461	James III., 1460	Charles VIII., 1483
Richard III., 1483	James IV., 1488	Louis XII., 1498
Henry VII., 1485		

Western Empire.	*Papacy.*	
Sigismund, 1410,	Martin V., 1417	Pius II., 1458
Albert II., 1438	Eugenius IV., 1431	Paul II., 1464
Frederick III., 1440	Nicholas V., 1447	Sixtus IV., 1471
	Callixtus III., 1455	Innocent VIII., 1484

General Survey.—The outstanding feature of the fifteenth century, during which the Middle Ages were drawing to a close, is the downfall of Feudalism as a system of land tenure. Yet the greater part of the period, notwithstanding, shows a very marked revival of the power of the barons. The reigns of Richard II., of Henry VI., of Edward IV., are characterized by the strokes and counterstrokes of baronial cliques, or by the autocratic rule of some particularly powerful feudal lord. The very fact, however, of the constant revolts, the division into parties, the various attempts to capture the government, speak plainly of a time of shifting and uncertain power; and it only needed the crash of civil conflict that came in the Wars of the Roses to bring the whole structure of feudalism to the ground. For underneath that structure the spirit of a new era was already at work, some of the features of which we shall recognize under the forms of parliamentary control, the steady rise of a strong commercial and agricultural middle class, and the development of royal supremacy.

Connected with the " factions " or cliques of the baronial party is the story of the last period of the Hundred Years' War, and the loss of France, and though it is not necessary to study this in detail, it is well to remember that the condition of England in those days, as far as the great baronial factions were concerned, was almost exactly reproduced across the

Channel. There we find the country rent between the party of the Orleanists and that of the Burgundians, and the armies of England supporting first one side and then the other.

§ 1. **The Hundred Years' War: Third Period,** 1415-1420.— Since the development of the French war had such important effects upon the system of feudalism let us briefly follow it to its conclusion.

The marriage of Richard II. to Isabella, the young French princess, in 1397, had brought about a thirty years' truce, on condition that the English king should claim no more territory than he already held in Calais, Bayonne, and Bordeaux. Social unrest in England, the revolt of the barons against the Crown, the uncertain tenure of Henry IV., all tended to prevent any attempt to retrieve the failure of the previous period of conflict.

By the time of the accession of Henry V. (1413), another condition of affairs had arisen. The Lancastrian title to the throne had been strengthened, the new king was a born general and leader of men, and was strongly of opinion that the best remedy for civil strife was foreign war. Moreover, the critical state of the French kingdom pointed to a convenient moment for a sudden blow. The French king, Charles VI., had lost his reason, and the land was torn by the bitter feuds of the Burgundian and Orleanist factions. An army sent by Henry IV. in 1411 had supported the Burgundians, another, in 1412, the Orleanists, and having thus fanned the kindling flame of strife, England was ready in 1415 to gain all the advantages of a civil war in France. Moreover, Scotland, always to be reckoned with in wars with France, was quiescent for the time under the rule of the Duke of Albany, who, as the ally of the English, had connived at the imprisonment of the Scottish prince James in England, and made himself Regent of Scotland.

These things account, then, for the success of this third period, which covers Henry's victory at *Agincourt*. This was another triumph of infantry over cavalry at a hopeless disadvantage on new-ploughed fields, sticky with recent rain, and was followed, two years later, by the fall of Rouen and Normandy. During all this time the feuds of the French barons were playing into the hands of the English king. The Dauphin, an adherent of the Orleanists, had caused Duke John of Burgundy to be murdered during a conference

and truce. At once the Burgundians, mad for revenge, threw in their lot with Henry. The queen-mother, always the enemy of her own son, followed suit, and placed the imbecile King Charles in the hands of the English and Burgundian allies. By the year 1420, the *Treaty of Troyes* had named the English king regent and heir to the French throne, disinherited the Dauphin, and arranged for a marriage alliance between Henry and the Princess Catherine. To this all France north of the Loire, save Brittany and Anjou, agreed. But even then the shadow of failure was beginning to fall over this period of success. When Thomas of Clarence, brother to the king, tried to chase the adherents of the Dauphin out of Anjou, he was attacked by a body of Scottish troops and slain at *Beaujé*, and it was during the attempt of Henry to avenge this by a savage raid on central France that he was stricken with fever, and so died.

Fourth Period of the War, 1422–1450.—From the commencement of the reign of the infant King Henry VI., the only English sovereign who was actually crowned King of France, this shadow deepened. Scotland, it is true, was disarmed by the liberation of the captive James I., and by a treaty of peace. But England, torn by feudal factions such as that between Bishop Beaufort of Winchester and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, rivals for the regency, was not strong enough to hold what she had won. In France the rule of Bedford, unsupported by England, became more and more impossible. The alliance of Burgundy was essential, and, to secure it more firmly, Bedford had married the sister of Duke Philip of Burgundy. But this was more than counterbalanced by the action of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester in carrying off Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault and cousin of the Duke of Burgundy, a lady who was already wedded to the Duke of Brabant, Burgundy's ally. From that time Burgundy's friendship with England was not to be depended upon.

In 1423, however, Bedford managed to win the battles of *Crévant* and *Verneuil*, and in 1428 to besiege Orleans, the "key-town" to Southern France, which was still in the Dauphin's hands. The saving of the city was but the preliminary to that wonderful and familiar story that centres round the figure of St. Jeanne d'Arc. From the first Jeanne stood as a very miracle of brilliant success in the face of the opposition and inertia of those who should have been her

ENGLAND
during the
WARS of the ROSES
Hemildon Hill
Hedgeley Moor
Hexham
York
Towton
Ferry Bf
Wakefield
Blore Heath
Shrewsbury
Bosworth
Stamford
Norwich
Aberystwith
Ludlow
Coventry
Northampton
Bury St Edmunds
Mortimers Cross
Edgecote
Tewkesbury
St Albans
Barnet
Radcot Bf
Bristol
Sevenoaks
Southampton
Rye
Winchelsea
Exeter
0 20 40 60 80
English Miles

warmest supporters. But this child of eighteen, the White Maid of France, who fought for a defeated country with supernatural wisdom and courage, and who died the death of a martyr, not only became the saviour of her country from the English: she gave back to France a lost ideal that rescued that land from worse than foreign rule. Not again, after the coronation at Rheims, did France fall back into her former state of hopeless inaction. The Burgundians had, indeed, sold the Maid to the English, and a French bishop had, in 1431, condemned her pure soul for heresy; but the sequel looked as though her blood demanded reparation from their hands. For it was the breaking of the Burgundian alliance with England, in 1435, which marked the beginnings of a united France, and gave the deathblow to English hopes of conquest.

For nine years the war dragged on, while at home England was torn between the quarrels of the war party, under Gloucester, and the peace party, under Suffolk. Then in 1444 the latter managed to bring about a temporary peace by the marriage of King Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou (*Truce of Tours*, 1444). Normandy was to be retained by England, Anjou to be given up.

Then Gloucester died, after a swift fall from power, and though this favoured the continuance of peace, it was soon seen to be a peace on disgraceful terms for England. The mismanagement of the French domains by disorderly English soldiers under Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, gave the King of France his chance. Once again did Norman blood stir in the veins of Englishmen when in 1450 the news ran throughout the South of England that "now we have not a foot of ground in Normandy." When Suffolk, the ally of Somerset, openly accused of selling his country, fled for his life, it was to meet death by violence on the vessel in which he fled. Then Aquitaine, after the fall of Bordeaux and Bayonne, was lost; and when, on St. John's Eve, 1451, the herald cried from the watchtower for "succour from England," he was answered by the silence of defeat.

By the year 1453 only Calais remained of the once far-reaching empire of England in France.

Twenty-three years later (1475) the *Treaty of Pecquigny*, the result of a half-hearted attempt of Edward IV. to revive the conflict and retrieve his country's losses, bought from

England her rights and claims for a large sum of money. This left both Edward of England and Louis XI. of France free to carry on their very similar tasks of undermining the foundations of feudalism, and of building up a system of absolute monarchical rule in its stead.

§ 2. **Effects of the War on Fifteenth-Century England.**—We saw in the last chapter the effect of the earlier periods of the war upon the economic side of this country in the fourteenth century. The same results appear in the fifteenth century; for the constant demands made on the pocket of the nation led to the increased importance of the traders and merchants of the middle class. These, the wealthy producers of the country, were able now to gain concessions which were all on the side of trade advantages, hampered as they still were by the devastating conditions of war.

From the loss of France, again, dates the beginning of a new spirit which, during the sixteenth century, was to transform the nation. Slowly but surely the old wide international spirit began to merge into the insular and national ideal. When Henry V. made it the object of his conquests in France to make the English sovereign ruler of a New England across the Channel, "master of the narrow seas," and a great power in Europe, he was thinking internationally. When Henry VIII. did actually play a far more important part in European politics it was as a national ruler, interfering from without, not from within. At present, however, England was still held to the Continent by the links of the Catholic Church, and she was, in one respect at least, the gainer by the loss of her French provinces, since she was now relieved from an intolerable burden of constant fighting in another country.

Not that she was to lay down the sword, for almost immediately she found herself embroiled in a civil war that was to last for nearly thirty years.

§ 3. **The Fall of the Feudal Barons.**—During the fifteenth century the power of Parliament had very largely passed into the hands of a few great landowners, who controlled supplies and dictated the policy of the king. It seemed, indeed, to be the day of the feudal "magnate," for the long war, with its need of constant provision of armed forces, had played directly into his hands. Every great baron now

maintained within the precincts of his castle a host of professional soldiers, or "mercenaries," which could be called out at a minute's notice against rival baron or faltering king. This was the power that lay at the root of that unhappy conflict known as the Wars of the Roses—the flower that became the badge, in red and white, of Lancastrian and Yorkist leaders in a struggle the effects of which are more important than its details.

The Barons against the Crown, 1386–1485.—To understand rightly the struggle that brought about the fall of the old nobility in England, we must look back to the reign of Richard II. and forward to that of Edward IV. The whole of the century covered by this period is marked by the quarrels of baron with baron, of baron with king. Sometimes the magnates act in groups, sometimes alone. But since the days when John trembled before the lords at Runnymede, or the country rose to follow Earl Simon in the Barons' War, a complete change of spirit had come over the feudal nobles. In those times they fought for freedom from unjust oppression, and not only for selfish interests. In these the cause of their quarrels was, generally speaking, either jealousy of their fellow-nobles or ambition for power and office.

The long French wars had, as we have seen, afforded the opportunity of raising private armies, "maintained" by the feudal baron for the purpose of supporting him in his private feuds. His retainers, who wore the livery of his house, had a free hand as far as local conditions were concerned. In the Paston Letters, for example, we read how the roads were infested by these bands of ruffians, who held up and robbed the passing traveller, and set all law and order at defiance. "We have no good tidings," writes Mistress Paston to her husband, "for Richard Southwell with his fellowship [*i.e.*, band of retainers] hath entered into the manor of Hale, which belongs to the Lady Boys, and keepeth it with such strength . . . and wasteth and despoileth all that there is." Murders were daily occurrences, terror and blackmail reigned everywhere, save in the homes of those fortunate persons who could buy the favour of some great lord.

The roots of this condition of feudalism, a feudalism built on far more selfish and lawless lines than that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are to be found in the minority of

Richard II., and the fruits of it in that of Henry VI. Throughout the century the movement groups itself round certain barons who play their part, disappear, and are replaced by others equally prominent for a time and equally absorbed by personal ambitions. Nor, apart from one or two prelate barons, such as Cardinal Beaufort, do we find one single name that stands for patriotic spirit or zeal for the common welfare of the nation.

Let us take a brief survey of the course of events up to the eve of the Wars of the Roses. No possible gain can be found in studying the petty quarrels of baronial cliques, but we may, with profit, trace throughout this period the development of constitutional government, especially as regards the House of Commons.

From 1377 to 1386 we find the land ruled, during the minority of Richard II., by his uncles, the sons of Edward III., all strong personalities, among whom John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, stood pre-eminent.

But John of Gaunt, by his selfish and unreliable policy, had earned the hatred of the burgesses of the towns, and of the freeholders of the country, and when jealousy of his position and anger at his mismanagement of the French war threw the weight of the baronial party on their side, it became possible to aim at his downfall.

It was, therefore, the determination of Parliament to prevent the reins of government from falling into the hands of the most unpopular baron in England that led to the development of the power of the Commons in the early years of the reign of Richard II. The *Good Parliament* of 1376, the last year of Edward's reign, had already dared to attack the evil influence of John of Gaunt over the weak old king; the first Parliament of Richard II., by declaring its right to bring the royal ministers to account for their actions, struck a heavy blow at baronial tyranny as a whole, though without lasting effects.

It must be remembered, however, that this House of Commons, at its best, represented only the small class of freeholders of the country and burgesses of the town. The great mass of the people, artisans and villeins, could only make themselves heard in such movements as the Peasants' Revolt or through the mouth of such heretical teachers as John Wycliffe. The influence of this last and the effect of his teaching have

already been dealt with. It is sufficient here to note that it was in order to win popular support for his lost cause that John of Gaunt, the selfish and ambitious courtier, threw in his lot with the man whose unbalanced teaching led to an outbreak of rampant socialism, brief as it was violent.

The revolt of 1381 had, however, sufficed to show the feeling of the people, as a whole, against the Duke of Lancaster. His absence abroad in 1386 on a futile expedition in Gascony, brought another actor on the scene. Richard II., aged nineteen, made his first bid for freedom with the support of one Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, a rich merchant's son, who stood outside the close pale of the baronial clique.

Both Houses of Parliament at once joined forces to crush the royal youth. Suffolk was dismissed, and when Richard made his next attempt, by raising an army under the Earl of Oxford and by appealing directly and personally to the country by a royal progress, the only result was the formation of a new clique of barons which virulently attacked his supporters. Under the influence of this clique, who called themselves the "Lords Appellant," or "Accusers," the *Merciless Parliament* of 1388 swept all outsiders from the Court. This gives a good example of the easy degradation of the Commons when the Upper House chose to tighten the reins. Yet curiously enough, less than a year later, when Richard, for the third time, asserted his right to rule, no one tried to prevent him. King, Lords, and Commons now settled down to a period of quiet constitutional government for eight years —an oasis in this period of storm and stress. Two of the "Appellants" were to be found in the royal clique; old John of Lancaster, shorn by age of truculence and anti-clericalism, was restored to favour.

The contest between king and baron was, however, by no means dead. Quite suddenly, in the year 1397, Richard struck at the barons' party. The actual cause may have been the persistent interference of his uncle, Thomas of Gloucester, fear of the two Lords Appellant, Arundel and Warwick, or an ill-timed attack made by the Parliament of 1396 on the administration of the royal household.

The blow was as swift and effective as had been the banishment of Suffolk. Within the space of a few months Gloucester had met a mysterious death at Calais, Arundel had been executed for treason, Warwick banished.

Richard now proceeded to rule as an absolute king. A subservient House of Commons, which granted him the subsidy on wool for his life, made him independent of supplies; the barons' party seemed shocked to silence.

Then Richard, in his weak elation, went too far. He banished the last two Appellants, his cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Lancaster, and Mowbray of Norfolk, upon an absurd pretext, and proceeded on the death of Lancaster to seize Bolingbroke's estates.

This was the opportunity for the counterstroke for which the new Duke of Lancaster had been biding his time. When he returned on the plea of "claiming his own," he was at once supported by a great army of "retainers" from his own northern estates and those of other magnates, and soon was in a position to demand, not the duchy, but the Crown.

He could count entirely on the barons' party, at any rate for a time, and had good reason to bid for the support of a Parliament which saw itself at the point of extermination under Richard's absolutism. Within a year of this "Lancastrian revolt" Richard had disappeared from the pages of history, and Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, had been elected king, by the unanimous voice of Church, barons, and people, over a realm "that was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the good laws."

§ 4. **The Lancastrian Rule.**—In these words Henry IV. "challenged" the Crown, and they give the keynote to his reign. No attempt could be made by him to emulate the absolutism of his predecessor, for since his claim to the throne rested, not on direct heredity, but merely on parliamentary election, he was pledged to reign as a constitutional king. Even if this had not been the case, the frequent revolts which marked the restless spirit of his age, and his constant need of supplies to carry on a threefold war against Scotland, Wales, and his own revolting barons, kept him dependent on Parliament for money, and accounts for the distinct though brief growth in parliamentary power during this reign.

The whole period (1399–1403) was one of half-suppressed or open revolution. In the North we see Harry Percy, the "Hotspur" of Northumberland, driving out the invading Scots at *Homildon Hill* (1402), and forthwith turning his great army of retainers against the king in favour of young Edmund Mortimer, a nearer claimant to the throne. The father-in-law

of this youth, a certain Welsh squire named Owen Glendower, had already fanned Wales to insurrection; Douglas, leader of the Scottish freebooting earls, joined his cause, and his example was followed by several of the discontented English barons. In 1403 Henry found himself at war with Scots and Welsh and Northerners, all presumably striking a blow for young Mortimer, but in reality fighting from sheer lust of warfare. The one exception was Owen Glendower, a curious and interesting personality, a student of Dante in days when men cared more for the sword than the book, "a worthy gentleman, exceedingly well read and profited in strange concealments"—that is to say, well versed in the magic and astrological lore of his period. It was the constant aggression of his neighbour and feudal lord, Grey of Ruthin, upon those lands of his that lay on the slope of the Berwyn Hills, that sent Glendower to seek justice from the king in vain.

Then, widening the scope of his quarrel, Owen put himself at the head of a people seething with revolt against the feudal Lords Marchers of the border. "Bitter was the injustice of the law, the injustice of the officers of the law more bitter still." With this cry upon their lips the Welshmen hanged their bailiffs, burnt their ploughs, and, having acclaimed Owen as Prince of Wales, marched to the battle songs of their bards, in fruitless revolt against a king sworn to "good governance."

The rapid action of Henry in defeating the Percies, Glendower's allies, at *Shrewsbury*, in 1403, before the Welshmen could join forces with them, was a fatal throwback to the plans of Glendower; yet three years later we find him undauntedly setting forth, in a letter to Charles VI. of France, his three most worthy aims. Wales, because of the misery of the oppressed peasantry, was to become independent; she was to have an independent archbishop, responsible only to the Pope; her ancient learning was to be revived by the making of two universities in North and South Wales respectively, under the direct encouragement of Pope Benedict XIII. But his was a lost cause. The military skill and forces of Prince Henry, heir to the throne, the faithlessness of his allies, the hard winters that brought famine to a stricken land: all these things were against him; and after his death in 1415, nothing remained of his bid for freedom save his memory lingering in the hearts of his countrymen,

as one who slept until the appointed day when the deliverance of his country should be won.

The events of the French war fill the reign of Henry V., and incidentally, as we have seen, prepared the way for future trouble, by increasing the fighting equipments of the barons, while the youth and weakness of Henry's successor again paved the way for the impending struggle between the royal and the feudal powers.

§ 5. **Baronial Factions,** 1422–1455.—For over thirty years of the reign of Henry VI. the political history of the period deals with the rivalry of the great baronial cliques. The power held by these was unbounded, for while the barons themselves constituted the House of Lords, their adherents now dominated the House of Commons. Each baron had an army at his call wherewith to overawe his opponent; and since the number of baronial families was small, it came about that all England was divided up under the banners of a few magnates, strong enough as individual leaders, and possessing more than royal power when connected with other great feudal families. The Earl of Warwick, for example, who was akin to at least two other baronial houses, kept an army of thirty thousand retainers at call, with which he could, at will, threaten either fellow-baron or king.

Thus we find, during the first half of the reign, two dominant factions in the land: the war party, keen on pursuing the French war to its bitter end, led by Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, a wrong-headed, passionate, yet genial favourite with the populace; and the peace party, led by Cardinal Beaufort and William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, a representative of the merchant class from which he sprang.

The ascendancy of the peace party in 1444–1445, as we have already seen, had brought about a truce, and an attempt at settlement by the marriage of King Henry with Margaret of Anjou. But the loss of the French domains irritated the nation, and this irritation was increased to deep resentment in 1447, when Gloucester, the most popular man of his day, was arrested, and very soon afterwards died.

The loss of their favourite entirely blinded the people to the fact that his generosity and fame as a patron of letters had been more than counterbalanced by the egotistic vanity and passion for war that had lost England her French empire. For this loss they blamed, not Gloucester, but Suffolk, one

of the chief leaders of the peace party. Within six weeks of Gloucester's death, Suffolk's chief supporter, Cardinal Beaufort, had also passed away, after forty-eight strenuous years of service to his country.

Like most of the great ecclesiastics of his day, the Cardinal thought it no wrong to be known as " the greatest wool dealer in the realm," and like all his family, he was a man of princely style of living. Much, however, of his great wealth had been used for the good of the nation, and his steady striving after peace in face of the determined opposition of his nephew Gloucester marks him as one of the few patriotic and admirable personalities of the time.

His death left Suffolk the practical ruler of England. A new baronial clique, however, was in process of formation, which was soon to be led by the next heir to the throne, Richard of York, at present kept in the background as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The aim of the clique was the downfall of Suffolk, the object of the country's keen resentment. For his own sake, the king was forced to banish the earl, hoping thus to ensure his safety. But certain citizens of London, always his especial foes, followed his ship across the Channel and put him to death after a mock trial.

In that same year, 1450, when Somerset, nephew of Cardinal Beaufort, had taken the place of Suffolk in the royal favour, a strange event took place, a presage of the war so soon to come. A revolt broke out in Kent under a soldier of fortune called Jack Cade, who gave himself out to be one Mortimer, cousin of the Duke of York. His followers called him " John Mend-all," and to his banner flocked an orderly array of yeomen and freeholders, which formed a camp at Blackheath, and demanded that Somerset should be dismissed from the royal councils and Jack put in his place.

Just at the moment the restless citizens of London were in the mood to execrate the " Church and peace " party, represented by Beaufort, and always warmly supported by the gentle and pious king. So they marched with Cade's forces and looked on in approval when the treasurer and other unpopular persons were beheaded. From the shires came a rumour of the stoning to death by an infuriated mob of the Bishop of Salisbury, the king's confessor. Meantime, in London, " they were ever fighting upon London bridges,

and many a man cast into the Thames—harness, body, and all. And the same night the Captain of Kent did fire the draught bridge of London and brake open both King's Bench and the Marshalsea and let out the prisoners that were in them. . . . Then came my Lord the Cardinal of York, and my Lord of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, and treated with that captain so that the sore conflict ceased and gave the captain and his band a general charter. . . . But upon the 12th day of July the said captain was cried and proclaimed traitor, and that same day was the Captain of Kent taken and slain in the Weald in the County of Sussex."[1]

Cade and his rebellion were probably used as a " test case " by that very astute and ambitious prince, Richard of York, for he now hurried over from Ireland, ostensibly to assert his innocence of any complicity in the revolt, but, actually, to try to push his own cause by force of arms.

As heir to the throne, and related, as he was, to five of the great baronial houses, he had little to fear from Somerset, whose family, descended from John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford, had been expressly excluded, in the reign of Henry IV., from succession to the Crown. But the Church stood by the Beauforts, and his first attempt to frighten the king into letting him hold the reins of government was a failure.

Then, after 1454, came a rapid revolution of affairs.

The loss of Gascony—last, save Calais, of the French possessions—caused a fresh outburst of fury against the Peace Minister, Somerset. In the midst of the uproar, the king, always mentally unstable, became insane.

Immediately, York seized his chance, and prevailed on his supporters in Parliament to imprison Somerset and make him, as heir to the throne, Protector of the Realm. A few months later the birth of a son to Henry and Margaret closed the door on York's hopes of a peaceful succession to the Crown.

Within the following year (1408) the king made a sudden recovery.

" Blessed be God, the king is well amended," writes Edmund Clere to John Paston, " and on Monday afternoon the queen came to him and brought my lord prince with her. And he asked what the prince's name was, and she told him ' Edward,' and then he held up his hands and thanked God, And he

[1] Gregory's Chronicle (contemporary).

said he never knew till that time what was said to him, nor where he had been while he had been sick. And he saith he is in charity with all the world, and so he would his lords were."[1]

His wish was not to be fulfilled. Within the next few months the followers of York were in arms and fighting with the forces of Somerset for the offices of which they had been deprived at the king's return to sanity. When Somerset was slain at St. Albans in the May of 1455, the prelude to the Wars of the Roses was complete.

This preliminary conflict was followed by a truce, as far as actual warfare was concerned, of three years, during which the opposing factions were led by York on the one hand and by that striking personality, Margaret of Anjou, on the other.

This royal lady, ever since her landing in England as a bride of sixteen, had taken a vivid interest in the tangled politics of her day, showing clearly her distrust of Gloucester, and later on her hatred of the Duke of York. Now that she had a son to fight for she came boldly forward as the leader of the royalist faction, "waiting on the Duke, and the Duke upon her," as the Paston Letters quaintly put it. Once, indeed, a very hollow reconciliation was patched up, when both factions marched solemnly to St. Paul's, led by the queen, hand in hand with the Duke. The kiss of peace was given, but it proved a Judas token of affection.

Secretly, York was gaining promises of support from magnates such as Warwick and Salisbury; and it gradually became clear that both parties intended to fight the matter out to the death. The aims of York had openly developed. He meant to fight for the crown that Margaret was jealously guarding for her young son; for by this time the king's frequent fits of insanity had made him a negligible quantity in the conflict just at hand.

§ 6. **The Wars of the Roses.**—The division of the country between these two factions is interesting, since it throws light upon some of the more general causes of this civil war. The war itself has been described as a struggle between the barons and their retainers, in which the bulk of the people took little part. But though the actual fighting was more or less in the hands of the former, it is certain that so complete a revolution as the setting up of a new dynasty could not have been accom-

[1] Paston Letters.

plished without a weighty mass of popular opinion in the background.

The wave of discontent that washed away the Lancastrian line can be easily accounted for, not only by the humiliating loss of France, but by the devastating conditions that were bound to accompany a long war.

But, apart from this, there was "lack of governance" in a land rent by the ambitious schemes of powerful barons, and lack of prestige in the Court itself, since the king was made "so poor that now he beggeth from door to door," and the royal revenue was absorbed by "pensions to great lordes." These, together with the want of local security, since the country was harried by bands of ruffians wearing the badge of their patron and lord, had completely worn out the patience of a long-suffering people and urged them to support even civil warfare in the hope of a complete change of government.

This accounts for the fact that the larger towns of the South and the whole coastline of England were on the side of York, hoping from him a strong line of action and especially a stern control of the seas, the chief highway of commerce. With them went the lords of the Welsh Marches, since York was the representative of the House of Mortimer, though the Tudors and the Beauforts led their Welsh clans of retainers on the other side. The Nevilles with their widespread estates brought in Kent and Durham; Warwick and Wiltshire, under the leadership of the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, rallied to the banner of York; and much of the county from which the latter took his title was on his side. But, speaking generally, the greater part of the wild regions of Northern England, as well as the far west, was Lancastrian; and the more thickly populated and "advanced" South was Yorkist. It is significant that the latter party included the greater proportion of the townsmen and trading class, and the former the nobles, the abbots and bishops, and the country gentlemen. As far as actual warfare was concerned, it remained for the most part in the hands of the professional fighters, the feudal retainers, so that trade and commerce were very little interrupted.

Into the actual details of the Civil War it is useless to go. Its most important personality was the Earl of Warwick, who, both by his own wealth and by virtue of his connection with so many other great feudal houses, was by far the most

CONTINENTAL DOMINION OF HENRY VI. 1422.
Land possessed by Henry VI. King of France. Henry VI after 1453
ENGLAND
Calais
FLANDERS
Agincourt
Crecy
Amiens
Rheims
Harfleur
Rouen
PICARDY
NORMANDY
Meaux
Verneuil
Paris
Bretigny
BRITTANY
MAINE
Orleans
ANJOU
Tours
Nantes
TOURAINE
Poitiers
POITOU
BURGUNDY
SAINTOGNE
ARGOUMOIS
LIMOUSINE
AQUITAINE
GUIENNE
Bordeaux
GASCONY
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
0 50 100 150
English Miles

powerful noble of his day. At the time of the first clash of arms at *Bloreheath* in 1459, when York defeated the royalist forces, Warwick, whose help won the victory for him, was Governor of Calais and in command of the Fleet.

During the six months that followed this battle, Warwick, with his father, the Earl of Salisbury, lay quietly at Calais, while York, whose followers refused to attack the king in person, fled to Ireland. Meantime, a curious incident occurred. The Papal Legate, sent by Pius II. to Henry VI., was persuaded by Warwick to join the side of the Yorkists. Thus, when the earl and the representative of the Pope landed in Kent and marched on London in 1460, crowds followed Warwick's banner, and the city warmly supported his march upon *Northampton*, where the royal family had taken refuge.

The royalist troops were the stronger in numbers, but the unsettled state of the partisans is shown in the fact that Lord Grey de Ruthin drew off his forces at the critical moment, and left the king a prisoner, and the queen and her little son fugitives in the North.

From that time, as far as York was concerned, there was no question of a mere change of ministry, but of a change of dynasty.

At first this fact seemed likely to bring about a turn in the tide of public favour. When, says the Chronicle, " the king's bishops, barons, and Commons, sat in Parliament at Westminster, came the said Duke of York . . . not a little uplifted in spirit, with trumpets and clarions, with armed men and an exceeding great retinue. On entering the palace he marched straight through the great hall to where the king is wont to hold his Parliament with his Commons, and walking up to the king's throne put his hand on the cushion, as a man taking possession of his own, and kept it there for a short space . . . awaiting the applause of the onlookers. Then Master Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, asked him whether he wished to see the Lord King. To which he answered thus, ' I mind me of no one in this kingdom for whom it is not more fitting that he should come to me than I to him.' . . . But when this presumptuous conduct was noised abroad, forthwith people of every estate and degree began to murmur against him."[1]

[1] Whethamstede.

One of these people was the Earl of Warwick, who had no mind to " strip the king of his crown," and who after a stormy interview departed " very ill pleased," and little moved by the ingenuous words of the boy Earl of Rutland, second son of the Duke of York, " Fair cousin, be not angry, for you know it is our right to have the crown and that it belongs to my lord father and he must have it."

So seemed to think the Parliament called in the October of that year, when the judges refused to defend the king's claims, and the barons prevailed upon Henry to declare York the heir-apparent. But not so tamely would Margaret's mother heart see her son defrauded of his rights. Rousing the North Country, she inflicted a great defeat upon the Yorkists at *Wakefield* (1460), in which the Dukes of York and Salisbury and the young Earl of Rutland were slain with thousands of their followers.

From that day the warfare assumed a bloodier hue. Edward, eldest son of the Duke of York, hastened to Shrewsbury and, rousing the Welsh Marches, defeated the royalist forces at *Mortimer's Cross* in 1461. Meantime the queen, advancing on London, met Warwick at *St. Albans*, and inflicted a severe blow, scattering his forces and rescuing her captive husband from his hands. At the head of an army flushed with success, the king and queen might well have gained the capital, had not the greed of their followers led to such widespread acts of plunder that, in self-defence, the citizens and the dwellers in the home counties joined the side of their foes. Before they could enter London, the city had declared for Edward, a body of peers had agreed on the deposition of Henry, and the Duke of York had been proclaimed king as Edward IV.

In March of that same year (1461) the royalist army was so completely defeated at *Towton* in Yorkshire that its cause was doomed. At least eight great barons met their death in that fight in driving snow among flooded meadows, when the " river slew its thousands." The North became practically powerless, and when, during the next two years, the dauntless Margaret sought aid from France and Scotland, she sought in vain. For Warwick held Calais, the key to the Channel, and had the fleet in hand, and Scotland was torn by its own internal conflicts. Bravely she held out for a while among the feudal castles of the North, but after the two defeats of *Hedgeley Moor* and *Hexham*, in 1464, was forced to flee to

France. For a time the unhappy Henry wandered in disguise, and then gave himself up and was imprisoned in the Tower.

The struggle between king and baron had reached its last phase. And now, in place of the gentle Henry, more monk than monarch, the barons had to deal with a strong-willed youth of nineteen, whose aim was to please, not this faction or that, but "the Commons, who grudge, and say how the king receiveth such of this country as have been his great enemies and the oppressors of the Commons."

His first break was with the powerful House of Neville, with Warwick, the "King-maker," at its head. The aim of Warwick was to ally England and France by Edward's marriage with the sister of the French queen; but as he was about to arrange it he was told by the king that he had been already married for some months to Elizabeth Woodville, whose relatives, Woodvilles and Greys, he now chose out to fill high offices as a check to the power of the Nevilles. Then he gave further offence by refusing to allow his young brother, the Duke of Clarence, to marry Warwick's daughter; and, having sent off Warwick to the French Court with offers of peace, quietly brought about a marriage treaty between his sister Margaret and the Duke of Burgundy, the chief opponent of the royal power in France.

Then Warwick struck. In 1469, a certain Robin of Redesdale raised a revolt in York, with the avowed object of forcing the king to restore his powerful Neville kinsmen to office. From Calais, where Warwick had secretly arranged the forbidden marriage of his daughter to Clarence, the great earl joined the insurgents, and Edward, surprised and defeated at Edgecote, fell into his power. For the moment the king appeared to give way and declared his readiness to grant all demands, but another rising in Lincolnshire found him better prepared and gave him the chance, after his victory at *Losecoat Field*, to denounce both Warwick and Clarence as traitors.

These nobles at once fled to France, and made hasty reconciliation with the exiled Queen Margaret, a deed which was cemented by the marriage of young Prince Edward of Lancaster to Anne Neville, daughter of Warwick.

Once more the war of factions had changed hands, and now we find Margaret, Warwick, and Clarence allied against the House of York. Within eleven days of Warwick's landing

in 1470, Edward IV. was a fugitive in the Netherlands, and Henry VI. was once more set upon the throne, with Warwick and Clarence as "Protectors."

Six months later the whole scheme had again completely altered. With the help of Burgundy, Edward landed at Ravenspur, and soon found himself at the head of a large army of discontented countrymen. Clarence, his "false, fleeting, perjured" brother, deserted to his side, London gave him eager welcome.

At *Barnet*, on the Easter Day of 1471, the forces met in fog so thick that one part of Warwick's forces attacked another in mistake for the enemy, and after a desperate fight Warwick was left dead on the field. That same day Margaret had landed at Weymouth, hoping to raise the West Country on her son's behalf. But at *Tewkesbury* she was defeated and captured, and her young son slain. Henry VI. disappeared from history about this time, and many a Lancastrian earl lost his life on the scaffold. In a welter of bloodshed and violence and treachery and cruel retaliation, the long story of the struggle between the mediæval barons and the king came to an end.

The next twelve years formed an oasis of peace, for the Civil War had swept from the king's path all opposing elements. Most of the feudal estates had been confiscated to the Crown, and Edward was further provided with money by the pension granted by Louis XI. of France as the price of peace bought by the "shameful Treaty" of Pecquigny in 1476. Parliament counted for nothing, and was not even called after 1478. The government of Edward, therefore, was that of an absolute king. There was much murmuring among the rich, who complained that "they were hanged by the purse," and that they had to contribute to the Crown's support "by way of benevolence what pleased the king, or, rather, what displeased him." But Edward was popular with the merchants, to whose importance he was fully awake; and as a patron of art and literature he did much to encourage the printing press set up in Westminster by Caxton. For, curiously enough, it was during these noisy years of warfare that a new class and a new invention had arisen, both of which were destined to exercise an immense influence on the history of their country's struggle for freedom.

The "franklin" of earlier days had now become the

"squire" or large freeholder, acting as justice of the peace and "enriched with great possessions." In the town he had become the rich merchant, concerned with the country squire in making England wealthy through her wool trade. Neither of these men took much active part in the Civil War; often, indeed, they awaited the result of a battle before taking a definite side. Their aim was not to support political feuds so much as to increase the material comfort of their lives, and to obtain for this end a firm and stable form of government. For the moment, since they were not strong enough in numbers or experience to take a leading hand themselves, the absolute rule of a clever and popular king seemed the best alternative.

Meantime, in that dim corner of the Abbey precincts of Westminster known as the Red Pale, royal patrons hastened to do honour to the quiet craftsman printer, known as William Caxton. He had brought to England an invention that was not merely to destroy the mediæval gild of writers, the "Brothers of the Pen," who plied their trade at the church doors, with an inkhorn and a goose quill slung in their belts, but to bring about far greater changes in England than the long Civil War had done.

The king's brother, Richard of Gloucester, was a warm patron of Caxton, so that the old printer must have taken more than the eager interest of a London citizen in the news that, immediately after the king's death, the Duke had seized the young prince Edward and his brother Richard of York, and beheaded their chief supporter, Lord Hastings, on a log of wood on Tower Green.

When the streets of London were packed with Richard's retainers, it was no hard matter for Buckingham and Norfolk, the Duke's chief supporters, to persuade a small assembly of peers to "offer" the crown to Richard, on the grounds that the late king's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville was invalid and her children illegitimate. Six weeks after his "accession" to the throne, the two young sons of Edward disappeared. From Richard's point of view, their dastardly murder was necessary to his own safety; from that of the nation it sealed the king's fate. Even Buckingham rose in secret revolt against him, when it became clear that a suitable leader, with a plausible, if doubtful, claim to the throne, existed in the person of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, a descendant of John of Lancaster on his mother's side through

the line of the Beaufort clan. This claim was now strengthened by the betrothal of Richmond to the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV.

The first attempt at open revolt on behalf of Richmond failed, and led only to the capture and execution of Buckingham. Some eighteen months of unrest and conspiracy followed, during which Richard worked his hardest to win over a sullen and suspicious people. He had undoubtedly great powers of energetic construction, and under other circumstances might have made an excellent ruler. He reorganized the Navy, and his frequent " progresses " through the land brought him into close touch with the needs of his people, so that not only were grants of money made to cities that had suffered in the civil wars, but also to needy farmers who had lost their barns or their stacks.

Yet the Nemesis of his ill deeds pursued him so closely that the incessant threats of invasion, and the treachery of his former supporters, made his reign a nightmare of unrest, and account fully for the unnatural joy with which he heard that the long suspense and dread had been ended by the landing of Richmond at Milford Haven.

Immediately the whole country rose in behalf of Henry of Richmond, and when the royal forces met those of Henry at *Bosworth*, in Leicestershire, one great noble after another drew off his forces from the king's side and deserted to his rival (1485).

So ended, with the death of Richard III. at Bosworth field, a hundred years of unconstitutional revolt of the baronage against the royal power. With this period pass away the Mediæval Ages, carrying with them the downfall of feudalism, with its system of land tenure, baronial protection, forced service, and arbitrary authority. But with it passed also much of a lighthearted joy of living, a simplicity of life, a wide freedom of outlook, a love of beauty, and a wealth of imagination that shows itself, not only in the literature, but in the art and architecture of mediæval days. For a great civilization was drawing near its end—a civilization unsuited, it may be, to more modern ideas, but one which had played a brilliant part in history. In these days we are so used to judging social conditions by certain standards of education and book-learning, that it is difficult to realize that a far higher test is, in reality, the " abidingness " of structure and the

vision embodied in the wood and stone of the builder's craft; that practically all our noblest buildings date back to this epoch, and that in comparison with them modern structures are cold and dead. Defects there were in the morals and manners of the Englishmen of those days, as in these; but their lives, like their buildings, were at least vivid and manly and full of humour, courage, colour, and vigour. For the roots of their actions still lay deep in the rich soil of the Church, and the finer side of their existence was coloured by the influence of Catholic Christianity. That the political history of the day was intimately affected by this is clear even from the briefest acquaintance with personalities such as William of Wykeham, founder of Winchester, and Beaufort, Chancellor of England. The Wars of the Roses themselves were in reality a struggle between the ideal of a king supported by Church and Parliament, and that of a king acting entirely on his own responsibility, a fact which accounts for the strong Lancastrian bias of the abbots and bishops of that day.

The influence of the Church, since so many of the great landowners were ecclesiastics, may also be traced in the improved condition of the peasant and the countryman in general, since the changing conditions and consequent troubles of the fourteenth century: wages had steadily increased, tenants were prosperous, and there was still much freedom of pasturage on commons and public ways, in spite of the enclosures by which sheep-farming was enlarged and the sale of wool increased. When the labourer was thrown out of work because his ploughed acres were turned into grass fields, or when he could not rent land for his own cultivation, the Church was on his side. There still remains a letter in the possession of Magdalen College, Oxford, in which the Vicar of Guinton expostulated with the Fellows, who intended to let a large part of the land owned by them in that district to a certain rich farmer. It pleads that "it be let to the poor of the parish, to the community rather than to one man, to the poor and innocent before a gentleman or a gentleman's gentleman."

Moreover, under the protection of the Church, it had become possible for the son of a freeholder such as William Paston, whose father was a peasant ploughing his own strip of land, to become a barrister, and to hold appointment as steward to the Bishop of Norwich. From thence he rose to be a judge in the County Court, and, having married well, became

Sir William Paston, knight, and founder of a "county" family, lord of the manor of Oxmead and Gresham, owning a large estate at Paston, a "seignory" at Baston, and a "free market" at Cromer. He is but one example of the influence of the Church in abolishing arbitrary ordinances made for the purpose of suppressing the rights and privileges of the working man.

EXERCISES

1. What do you consider the most important effect of the loss of the French domains on the (*a*) social, (*b*) political, history of the time?
2. Show, by illustration from this period, the rapid changes of party in the latter part of the century.
3. Show, from the Paston Letters, some of the social conditions of the fifteenth century.
4. What personalities interest you most in this period, and why?
5. What helped to destroy the system of Feudalism in England?
6. Show, by instances, the effect of the Church on the history of this time.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1298–1306. Scottish Wars.
1307. Accession of Edward II.
1310. Lords Ordainers appointed.
1310–22. Oligarchy of Lords Ordainers.
1340–60. First Period of French War.
1348. The Black Death.
1360. Treaty of Bretigny.
1360–74. Second Period of French War.
1381. The Peasants' Revolt.
1396. Marriage of Richard II. with Isabella of France.
1402. Accession of Henry IV.
1413. Accession of Henry V.
1415–20. Third Period of French War.
1420. Treaty of Troyes.
1422. Accession of Henry VI. Regency.
1431. Burning of Joan of Arc.
1450. Loss of Normandy.
1453. Loss of Gascony and Guienne.
1455–1485. Wars of the Roses.
1455. Battle of *St. Albans*. Death of Somerset. Period of Reconciliation and Truce.
1459. Renewal of War. Battle of *Bloreheath*.
1460. Battles of *Northampton* and *Wakefield*. York killed.
1461. Accession of Edward IV. Battle of *Towton*.
1464. Battle of *Hedgeley Moor* and *Hexham*.
1470. Battle of *Losecoat Field*. Flight of Warwick. Flight of Edward.
1471. Return of Edward IV. Battle of *Barnet*. Death of Warwick. Battle of *Tewkesbury*.
1475. Treaty of Pecquigny.
1483. Edward V.
Richard III. Buckingham's Rebellion.
1485. Battle of *Bosworth* ends the war.

THE PERIOD OF TUDOR RULE

CHAPTER X

THE TUDOR ENVIRONMENT—THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (1500–1550)

CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND RULERS

England.	*Scotland.*	*France.*
Henry VII., 1485	James IV., 1488	Charles VIII., 1483
Henry VIII., 1509	James V., 1513	Louis XII., 1498
Edward VI., 1547	Mary, 1542	Francis I., 1515
Mary, 1553	James VI., 1567	Henry II., 1547
Elizabeth, 1558		Francis II., 1559
		Charles IX., 1560
		Henry III., 1574
		Henry IV., 1589

Spain.	*Empire.*	*Papacy.*
Ferdinand and Isabella, 1479	Maximilian I., 1493	Alexander VI., 1492
Charles, 1516, afterwards Charles V., 1519	Ferdinand, 1556	Julius II., 1503
Philip II., 1556	Maximilian II., 1564	Leo X., 1513
	Rudolf II., 1576	Clement VII., 1523
		Paul III., 1534
		Julius III., 1550
		Paul IV., 1555
		Pius IV., 1559
		Pius V., 1566
		Gregory XIII., 1572
		Sixtus V., 1585
		Clement VIII., 1592

General Survey.—The Tudor Period, which saw the dawn of the Modern World, is marked by certain rapid and startling changes in religious, intellectual, social, and political history, all closely connected with one another. In the religious sphere it saw the "*Reformation*" Movement, which cut off England from the Catholic Church of Christendom and substituted for papal authority the will of a king.

In the intellectual sphere it saw the *Renaissance*, which,

on its better side, introduced a wider outlook, a higher culture, and a return to that hard, clear thought which had been the legacy of Greece to the world; and, on its worse, exchanged the mediæval spirit of joy for a pagan love of beauty for its own sake, for its robust faith a spirit of criticism, and for its simplicity of life a desire for luxury.

In the social sphere the period saw the rise of a new nobility, drawn from the rich merchant class, and the depression of the peasant owing to the increase of enclosures. Hence we shall find in it a marked cleavage between the rich man who held the purse, and the artisan and peasant, who at this time tended to lose the rest of the freedom that had been theirs in former days.

In the political world, the keynote to the whole period is the growth of Nationalism, which substituted the ideal of an isolated State for that of a European Commonwealth, with its universal system of laws and its various activities closely related by mutual interests.

It is important to note how these four movements are connected. It was the "individualism" of the national ideal, the substitution of the self-centred State for the universal Commonwealth, that introduced the spirit of competition into the political and industrial world. This spirit of competition, the basis of the capitalist system, aimed at amassing wealth as rapidly as possible, for wealth was necessary to the luxurious ideals introduced by the Renaissance. Hence we get the rise of a new class of nobility founded on wealth, with a big stake in the country, and fully conscious of its own importance. Where religious authority conflicted with worldly ideals the solution was apparently simple. The Church must be made subordinate to the will of a king whose aims and interests were identical with those of this class, and the possessions of that Church must pass into its hands. From these things sprang the Reformation.

§ 1. **European Conditions.**—Closely connected with the spirit of the Renaissance, we find in the Europe of that day the influence of the Italian statesman Machiavelli. This man, basing his ideal on that of the Greeks of old, glorified the State and the prince who ruled it, as a single unit, at the expense of the international commonwealth. Just at the moment—the early years of the sixteenth century—Europe was especially ready for such teaching.

Spain, owing to a fortunate accident, had become the patron of Columbus and the owner of the wealth of a New World. By the year 1538 she had added the silver stores of Mexico and Peru to the gold of the Indies and was calling in the aid of German capitalists to organize a vast system of mining industry. On this wealth she was to build her supremacy in Europe. Hence she had every material motive for developing independently on her own lines. Her prosperity was, however, shortlived. While she used her wealth for the aid of industry within her own land her progress was rapid. When she substituted a policy of hoarding her ingots, or of using them only to build vast "armadas," she became exhausted. By the end of the century, she was already falling into the background. Her mistake, after the first years, had been the sacrifice of everything to the accumulation of treasure by the Crown.

In France, on the other hand, there was an even more powerful incentive to follow the lines marked out by Machiavelli. A strong central Government and an industrial system enforced and aided by the State seemed the only chance of pulling together a country torn and exhausted by years of war and faction. This was accomplished, during the sixteenth century, by using the resources of the Crown to develop industry—an unsound principle, which, while it led for a time to great prosperity, sacrificed the freedom of the people and put their labour at the disposal of the State. And in the meantime it roused a spirit of revolt among those who clung most closely to the idea of "freedom for the individual," a spirit that accounts for the ready acceptance of heretical doctrines among those political rebels known as Huguenots.

In Germany, we find the once powerful Holy Roman Empire reduced to a shadowy kingdom of petty states. Coalescence was impossible there, but the hope of becoming independent of both Emperor and Pope was strong enough to account for the fact that the first beginnings of actual schism from the Papacy were found in that country. The heretical teachings of Luther may have been inspired by a mistaken zeal for destruction instead of reconstruction; but the fact that they involved so-called political freedom, and a change of Government, was the real incentive to their ready acceptance. To say that the whole matter turned on the question of indulgences is to presuppose a Europe far more

deeply interested in questions of dogma than could possibly have been the case. Every peasant in Europe knew the true doctrine of the indulgences which Luther made his chief occasion of protest, and realized that the money collected by Tetzel and his fellow-monks for the building of St. Peter's was but a method of making " reparation " for sin. Far more important was Luther's attack upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, with all that it involved, for this was an attempt to pull down the whole sacramental system upon which the life of Europe depended. That therewas need of reform of life and morals, of an increase of personal religion and a decrease of certain mechanical forms of piety, was clear to most of the religious thinkers of the day, and such a reform was to come about within twenty years of Luther's first efforts, in the Counter-Reformation set on foot by the Council of Trent. But by that time Luther's followers had gone very much farther than he had ever expected. The unity of Europe had vanished. The spirit of revolt had passed throughout Northern Europe; Catholic France had become strongly infected; England, Holland, Scotland, Switzerland had broken quite away.

In Italy herself, the same tendency to " deify the State " was to be found, though to a limited extent, for, while the rest of the country lay helpless before the constant attacks of a foreign conqueror, the scattered Papal States drew together in the early years of the century, and preserved their independence under papal rule, in what is known as the consolidation of the Temporal Power.

We have said that these changes in economic conditions, and in ideals of government, were closely connected with the Revival of Letters known as the Renaissance. New ideas were in the air, and the Greek spirit, with its joy of life, its sense of beauty, its energy and enthusiasm, had been warmly welcomed by a European world by no means unprepared for its reception. In Italy the pagan side had been uppermost, and such reformers as Savonarola had looked grimly enough upon the luxury and self-indulgence that characterized it. But after 1513 Pope Leo X. became one of the most ardent supporters of a movement that certainly tended to increased vitality, of a material, if not of a spiritual, kind. " Never," says Luther, speaking with a kind of grudging admiration of these days immediately preceding his own private move-

ment towards revolution, " have people seen so much building, so much cultivation of the soil. Never has such good drink, such abundant food been within the reach of many. Dress has become so rich that it cannot be improved. Commerce circles the globe, embraces the whole world. All the wits have improved . . . a youth of twenty knows more than twenty doctors did in days gone by." Hence it has been well said, " It was not the Revival of Learning that shook Europe, but the assault on a complicated and decaying system in which political, financial, and private aims were blended with religion."[1]

Lastly, it must be remembered that, though Rome was still the centre of the religious world of Europe, the prestige of her popes had not yet recovered from the schism which, in the fourteenth century, had placed their seat for forty years at Avignon, and made them to some extent the tools of French kings (1378–1417). From the time of their return to Rome, when, still for a while, two rival prelates disputed for the Chair of Peter, no pope of insight and strong personality had occupied the Papacy. Leo X., in his zeal for the New Learning, had omitted to combine with it a zeal for the restoration of discipline, and there was doubtless much truth in his opponent's description of the worldly prelates and ambitious cardinals who thronged his Court. Reform from within was bound to come, but it needed to be a reform of life, both as regards clergy and people, by means of the Sacraments, as well as by a clear statement of unalterable doctrines such as was to be made in the Council of Trent, not, as Luther made it, a revolution in doctrine and the abolition of the whole sacramental system.

This brief glance at the conditions prevailing on the Continent may serve to explain, first, the rapid growth in autocracy of the Tudor rulers, who based their methods of government on the doctrine of Machiavelli—the glorification of the prince and his State. This, again, explains the ease with which Henry VIII. was able to impose his will upon a people who, of themselves, made no demand for any change of religion. Next, we shall see how both sides of the Renaissance movement in Europe were represented in England. Lastly, we shall see, in later Tudor days, how the spirit of

[1] Canon Barry, "Condition of Europe at Reformation." *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. i.

Nationalism developed in this country and in what way this affected its industrial and economic conditions.

§ 2. **Political and International Relations,** 1485–1550.—The aim of Henry VII. (1485–1509) was to redress the injury done to his country by a century and a half of almost incessant warfare, and, by the maintenance of a long peace, to enable her to take a leading part in European affairs. This was to be done, first, by creating a wealthy and powerful monarchy, independent of parliamentary grants; next, by a series of royal alliances with Continental powers; lastly, by developing a strong commercial class that would not only support the king but render England rich and prosperous.

(*a*) *England and France.*—Such an ideal does not suggest high deeds of chivalry, and no surprise will be shown at Henry's action in throwing over the cause of young Duchess Anne of Brittany, when an alliance with France, her opponent, signified the payment of a large sum of money to the royal coffers.

(*b*) *England and the Netherlands.*—In arranging with France this *Treaty of Étaples* (1491), Henry had another end in view. It led to the dismissal from the French Court of the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be the murdered Duke of York.

Perkin, thereupon, betook himself to the Court of the Archduke Charles of Burgundy, ruler of the Netherlands, and there found a warm welcome from Queen Margaret, sister of Edward IV., who declared her belief that he was her nephew, and called on Flanders to recognize him. Henry's reply to this move on the part of the Yorkist party was to break off commercial intercourse with Flanders for two years. This cost both countries dear, for Henry, "being a king that loved wealth and treasure, could not endure to have trade sick"; and the Flemish traders were so hard hit that they at length asserted themselves to such purpose that Warbeck was driven out. The *Intercursus Magnus*, or Great Intercourse, as the ensuing treaty was called, was hailed with joyous processions and ceremonies in Antwerp and in London, for it established free trade between the two countries. It opened the way also for a gradual transference of the cloth trade from Flanders to England, and thus enriched the English merchant class, whose interests Henry had so much at heart.

(*c*) *England and Spain.*—Spain, still ruled in the early years of the sixteenth century by Ferdinand and Isabella, and rapidly becoming the leading nation of Europe, had formed a "Holy League" to drive the French from Italy. It was important to draw England into this and to prevent her becoming the permanent ally of Burgundy. Hence, in 1496, we find Ferdinand busy patching up a truce between England and Scotland which had taken up the cause of Warbeck, in order that Henry might be free for the wider claims of European politics. In 1501 the connection with Spain was more closely cemented by the betrothal of Princess Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand, to Prince Arthur, heir to the throne. The prince was but a sickly boy, and the marriage, frustrated by his death, was actually carried out between his brother Henry and the young princess.

(*d*) *England and Scotland.*—There yet remained the problem of securing a lasting peace with Scotland, and this Henry hoped to attain by the marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV. This step was of importance, since it brought the children of this alliance into the direct line of succession to the throne, after the heirs of Henry VIII.

§ 3. **Foreign Policy of Henry VIII,** 1509–1545.—The ambition of Henry VIII. to play a leading part in European politics, apart from his wish to recover the lost province of Guienne, led to his becoming a member of the Holy League very soon after his accession. Troops sent to France in 1513 achieved a somewhat showy and empty triumph at the "Battle of the Spurs," when, at Guinegate, the French fled in sudden panic and Tournai fell into English hands.

This caused a rupture with Scotland, which, as usual, took up the side of France. A decisive defeat at *Flodden Field* (1513), where both the king and most of the Scottish nobles lost their lives, left Henry free from anxiety in that quarter.

The next few years (1514–1529) proved critical. Two vigorous personalities, Francis I. of France and Charles I. of Spain (the future Emperor), were rivals for supremacy in European affairs, and the question was, what part was England to play in the contest? The answer was dictated for the next fifteen years by the astute policy of a remarkable statesman, who, after years of training as chaplain to the late king, now stepped forward on to the stage of European affairs as Cardinal Wolsey, Chancellor, Archbishop of York, and Papal Legate,

said by unwilling admirers and jealous onlookers to be "seven times greater than the Pope himself."

The policy of this last of England's long line of ecclesiastical statesmen was based upon the principle of advancing the position of Europe by maintaining a *Balance of Power* between rival sovereigns, rather than by helping any one of them to become supreme. No important war was ever undertaken on behalf of either France or Spain, but by a series of diplomatic acts the support of England was promised to whichever monarch could pay the highest price.

Thus, when Francis of France invaded Lombardy in 1515, it was to Wolsey that Leo X. looked to secure the aid of England for the Emperor Maximilian. The latter, indeed, hoped to buy the alliance of Henry by offering to make him heir to the Empire, and only the advice of Wolsey kept him back from accepting the dazzling offer. In the next year France had made peace with Spain and Italy.

In 1518 the threat of a Turkish invasion of Europe led Pope Leo X. to make a new league by which the kings of England, France, and Spain bound themselves to mutual aid and protection. At the same time the new-born Dauphin of France was betrothed to the four-year-old Princess Mary of England, and Tournai was restored to France.

It was not to France, however, but to Spain, that Wolsey turned his gaze. The ruling passion of this powerful and ambitious man was to become the second English pope, and Spain was to help him towards this end, even if France had to be thrown over. Not that Wolsey was entirely self-seeking in this. Closely connected with his own rise was that of his country and his king, and we may believe him firmly convinced that, as pope, he could best aid the interests of both Church and State. In England he had rapidly achieved a reputation for princely living, and no less princely giving. No sooner had he built and furnished his palace at Hampton Court than he handed it over to the king. As chancellor his court was crowded both by rich and poor, equally sure of a perfectly fair and sagacious administration of justice. As patron of literature and arts he not only encouraged scholars, both native and foreign, but founded Cardinal's College, afterwards Christ Church, Oxford, for the furthering of liberal arts. But his real interests were international, and owing to his policy of "balancing power"

he was feared and courted by all the chief figures of Europe, while, through him, his sovereign, in one sense, held the policy of the Continental States in his hand.

In 1519 Charles of Spain became, on the death of Maximilian, head of the Roman Empire. At once Francis made a bid for the alliance of Henry of England, at the much-staged and dramatic meeting known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" (1520). From this came nothing but a spirit of renewed distrust and suspicion, for Henry realized that if he were ever to hope to regain the lost empire of France it must be by the help of the Emperor, and Wolsey knew well that the help of the latter was essential to his own private aims. Hence, in 1521, we find a league made, at Calais, between the Pope, the Emperor, and the English King, "to restrain the ambition of Francis." Troops were to be sent to France, and the intended marriage between Princess Mary and the Dauphin was to be broken off in favour of an alliance with the Emperor himself.

Before the treaty was signed, Milan had freed herself from the rule of France, and Pope Leo X. was dead. The hopes of Wolsey seemed now about to be realized, for the Emperor had promised his aid; but, owing to the influence of the Medici family, the Belgian Adrian of Utrecht, once tutor to Charles, was elected as Pope Clement VII. In his disappointment, Wolsey turned to France, and after Francis had become the Emperor's prisoner at *Pavia* (1525), an alliance was made with that country.

From this time the question of European politics becomes closely entangled with that of Henry's domestic affairs. The king's passion for Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's waiting maids, made him desirous of obtaining a "declaration of nullity" of his marriage with Queen Catherine. As her nephew, the feeling of the Emperor, apart from his anger at the defection of England, was all against Henry in the matter, and meantime the Pope stood inflexibly by the law of the Church.

The actual story, in its subsequent events, belongs to the section dealing with the Reformation movement. Here we can but complete the description of Wolsey's career, and its connection with European affairs.

§ 4. **The Divorce.**—While Henry of England was falling under the spell of Anne Boleyn, the Duke of Bourbon, calling

himself a follower of the Emperor, had sacked Rome with an army of adventurers, and shut up Pope Clement VII. in the Castle of St. Angelo. This event was seized upon by Wolsey, now faced with the terrible dilemma of disloyalty to his Church or to his royal master, as a chance for deciding the question of the divorce in his own court. But he was too good a theologian not to know that the judgment must be confirmed by the pontiff, if it were to be accepted by Catholic Christendom. So, during his absence as ambassador to France, he urged the king not to base the divorce upon the theological opinions of the universities, as he was proposing to do, but to get the consent of the Church. This roused Henry's distrust. Realizing that his all-powerful chancellor, who had balanced the power of Europe for fifteen years, was unable to defy the law of the Church in an apparently minor and personal matter, he recalled Wolsey, and informed him of his fixed intention to marry Anne Boleyn.

The grief and dismay with which the Cardinal received the news goes far to prove that his real motive in pressing on the divorce with Catherine was the hope of an advantageous royal marriage alliance with France. Disappointed in this and finding the king unmoved, he promised to support a cause that had been openly condemned by the English bishops and was highly unpopular with the nation at large. In vain, however, his envoys approached Clement, newly escaped from captivity. The Emperor was just as immovable, declaring, " I would not satisfy the rapacity of the Cardinal nor employ my forces to seat him in the Chair of St. Peter, and he in return has sworn to be avenged. Can I pass over the injury with which he threatens my aunt by his application for a divorce? But if war ensue, let the blood that must be shed rest on the head of him who was the original instigator of it."

In 1529 the last act of the tragedy of one of the ablest men in Christendom was played to an end. The *Statute of Provisors*, which forbade Englishmen to hold office directly from the, Pope, was said to have been transgressed by his holding office as papal legate, and, though Wolsey had done this by the king's express desire, he was deprived, his vast wealth confiscated, and the threat of trial for treason held over him.

His great unpopularity with the country, which had never forgiven his measures of heavy taxation, his personal arrogance, and unlimited influence over the king in former years,

stood him now in ill stead. He found himself without supporters and had to retire, disgraced and poverty-stricken, to York, in hopes of ending his days there in the fulfilment of his duties as archbishop. But this was not to be. Summoned to London on a charge of treason, the terror of violent death so overcame him that he died, old and broken when barely sixty years of age, at Leicester Abbey, on the journey southward.

In justice to him it must be said that, in the critical year 1528, when Henry had shown his determination to get the divorce decree pronounced, he had dared to tell the king in plain terms that though "ready to spend goods, blood, and life in his service, yet he was under still greater obligations to God, at whose tribunal he would have to account for his actions." The pity of it was that he had not the courage to live up to his convictions, for after this we find him using all his powers to get the papal consent to a decree which he knew quite clearly was against the law of the Church. Personal pride and ambition were the causes of his moral downfall, and the best of him that can be remembered is the fact that his influence with the king, for more than fifteen years, exercised some measure of restraint over a nature which, left to itself, broke out at once into the unbridled violence and passion which caused the disruption of Christendom.

Wolsey stands as the type of one side of the Renaissance, and shows in life and personality the pride of intellect, the luxury, the pagan spirit of self-pleasing, and the boundless energy which were among its characteristics. As the type of its finer side we may take Thomas More, the man who succeeded him as chancellor. Like Wolsey, he believed in the exaltation of the royal office, and in the ideal of "government *for* and not *by* the people" that such an exaltation implied; unlike his predecessor, his conscience was stronger than his ambition, and he preferred death rather than a dishonourable loyalty to his king.

In the wide learning that had made him famous throughout Europe, in his joy of life and keen interest in all things living, in his wit and humour and alertness of mind, More was a true son of the Renaissance. But he was also a devoted son of the Church, and, as such, he steadily opposed the royal will.

It was during the year 1530 that a certain Thomas Crom-

well, brought up in the political school of Wolsey, acting on a rumour that Henry, in despair, intended to give up all hope of a divorce, determined to "make or mar his fortunes" by a weighty suggestion to the king. He pointed out that the universities of Europe, tainted with the "New Learning" preached by Luther and his followers in Germany, had already pronounced in favour of the divorce. The only bar was the refusal of the papal consent. As this was so, "let Henry imitate the princes of Germany who had thrown off the papal yoke, and declare himself head of the Church in England." Thus every difficulty would vanish, and the king would not only be free to follow his own will in the matter in hand, but could also exercise unlimited power over the most wealthy institution in the realm.

Nothing could have better suited the mind of Henry. By a cunning subterfuge the clergy were terrorized into accepting him in place of the Pope by threats of the penalties of "præmunire"; and within an incredibly short time Convocation, the parliament of the Church in England, had acknowledged the king to be "Protector and only supreme Head of the Church and the clergy in England as far as the law of Christ permits."

This concession, limited as it was in extent, was the beginning of the end. We shall see in the next chapter how a subservient Parliament in 1534 declared Henry to be supreme Head of the Church without any limitation whatever. This was the *Act of Supremacy*, against which Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher of Rochester, and other Churchmen of note stood firm. Rather than deny the supremacy of the Pope over the whole of the Catholic Church they preferred to face the scaffold and the stake, and in 1535 the brave old bishop and the wise and witty ex-chancellor died the death of martyrs on Tower Hill.

EXERCISES

1. What features in the Europe of the early sixteenth century prepared the way for the Reformation Schism?
2. What is meant by the Balance of Power, and how was it used by Wolsey?
3. What striking personalities are mentioned in this chapter? State what you know about the two that interest you most.
4. Name two Renaissance types of this period and prove the suitability of the epithet.

CHAPTER XI

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (1530–1600)—*RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION*

It has long been the custom to consider the Renaissance movement as the prime cause of the Protestant Reformation, but this statement can scarcely be fully accepted.

§ 1. **The Renaissance Spirit.**—We have seen how Sir Thomas More stands as a Renaissance type, reflecting the joyous spirit, the buoyancy, the enquiring mind, the hard, clear thought which was the legacy of the Greek world revived by that movement. We even find him, with his friend Erasmus, satirizing certain mediæval abuses and writing as a reformer of the social wrongs of his own day. Yet More lived and died, as we have seen, a devoted son of Holy Mother Church.

Let us take another Renaissance type. Erasmus, the greatest scholar of his day, is a good example of the critical attitude of the new movement. With no vocation for the cloister, he had as a very young man endured som years of unhappiness after his ordination, and this fac, after he had left his monastery and taken up secular teaching, gave to his mind a certain personal bias against the whole monastic system. A Dutchman by birth, he belongs very specially to England by reason of his becoming one of the early teachers of Greek at Oxford, and a Professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1510, the friend of Archbishop Warham, and of other English Churchmen, and the close intimate of More.

Erasmus thus had every opportunity of studying the conditions of the Church in this country as well as abroad, and that he criticized them sharply in many respects is perfectly true. He attacked, for example, many points of Church government; he wished for stricter discipline, for a big change in methods and subjects of education, and much of his writing consists of satire upon the monastic system, of which he had seen but the worst side.

Yet we find well-instructed Catholics of his day, loyal sons of the Church, like More and Warham and Fisher, regarding him as a seer and a prophet, while the chief opponents of his writings, such as the monks of Louvain, were those who had

not read them. "I generally find it to be the case," he says, "that none are more bitter in their outcry than those who do not read what I write."

In those days, as in these, the Protestants tried to claim him; but though Erasmus was one of those who thought that impatience and harshness had hurried Luther into an extreme position, he indignantly repudiated any alliance, and directed some of his most pointed satire against him. His own words in a letter of 1520 make his position clear as a loyal Catholic. "I would have the Church purified lest the good in it suffer by contact with the evil. In avoiding the Scylla of Luther, however, I would take care to avoid Charybdis. . . . I have sought to save the dignity of the Roman pontiff, the honour of Catholic theology, and to look to the welfare of Christendom."

The cause of the Reformation cannot, therefore, be found in the best types of Renaissance teaching. On its social side, however, the movement introduced certain marked changes which are closely connected with the Schism of Europe.

Abroad, as in England, the Renaissance brought in ideals of luxury and self-indulgence which helped to transform society. In Tudor times these are often expressed by the word "Italianate," which came to mean a condition of extravagance in which the Court set the fashion, and the new nobility, drawn from the rich merchant class, followed suit.

Wealth became for this purpose the main object of life; avarice followed close upon its heels. As far as the king was concerned, the origin of the schism itself was a purely personal matter of his passion for a woman who could not be his wife; but when he had gained his will it left a more solid gain within his grasp in the wealth of the Church.

§ 2. **The Suppression of the Monasteries.**—Years of toil in earlier days, centuries of wise administration and employment of labour, and the generous gifts of pious benefactors, had combined to rank the monasteries, ruled by their princely abbots, among the wealthiest institutions of the land. The abbots had been the best of landlords in days when the peasant was everywhere oppressed; they had done the work of hospitals and workhouses, hotels and dispensaries, as well as carrying on much of the education of the time.

At the same time, it must be allowed that the monasteries,

like all the other institutions of the day, had not been untouched by the slackness and materialism of the preceding century. A huge amount of wealth had collected in clerical hands, bringing with it the taint of worldliness, and, just as the gilds had fallen from their high estate and become exclusive bodies of traders instead of co-operative workers for the right distribution of wealth, so the monasteries, in amassing money instead of spending it aright, had stumbled on the path of righteousness. Not only the religious houses, but the whole ministry of the Church was touched with the same corruption, a fact which accounts for her failure to "capture the spiritual discontent" of the day. But it was the monasteries upon whom the blow now fell.

The aim of Cromwell, Wolsey's successor as adviser to the king, was to make Henry absolute in every department of the kingdom, and the swiftest means of bringing this about was to make him the "richest king that had ever been in England, by robbing the monasteries of their possessions."

On the plea of need of reform, he now set on foot a systematic visitation of the religious houses. Such a visitation had already been made by Archbishop Morton during the last reign, and, though a certain need of tightened discipline had been made evident, most of the charges brought against the inmates of monasteries and convents had been proved to be utterly trivial. Another visitation had been made by Wolsey's orders, and certain of the smaller houses suppressed. But the present inquisition was made by men of evil character, who were determined to find some pretext for robbery. The charges they brought were proved in most cases to be grossly exaggerated or quite untrue, but, since barefaced greed rather than reform was the motive of their enquiry, this fact was disregarded. By the year 1536, the year that saw the downfall of Anne Boleyn, the First Dissolution, comprising all the smaller religious houses, was complete, and their revenues were handed over to the king.

The immediate result was that last rising of the people for the "Vision of the Middle Ages," known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. Led by one Robert Aske, a great band of homeless tenants and pensioners of the monks marched south to demand the restoration of their benefactors and the downfall of "Cromwell and other low-born heretics."

Upon these insurgents fell the hammer of Cromwell. With

an army of professional troops drawn from foreign countries he inaugurated a Reign of Terror that not only swept away the rebels in a wave of blood but destroyed in its course the greater monasteries which had failed to come to the support of their more insignificant brethren.

By a hypocritical Act of 1536 it had been declared that the "King's most royal Majesty, being supreme Head on earth of the Church of England . . . considering that divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full number of religious persons as they ought and may keep . . . is resolved that it shall be much more to the pleasure of Almighty God and for the honour of this his realm, that the possessions of such small Religious Houses should be used and committed to better uses . . . and the religious persons therein committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion."

Yet within the next four years these same "great and honourable" monasteries had been plundered and sacked, their wide lands confiscated, their sacred vessels and vestments sold for the royal benefit. The same Parliament that had borne witness to their uprightness condemned them to destruction, and where, as at Glastonbury, the abbot or prior was courageous enough to refuse surrender, he was charged with treason and hung and quartered at his own gates.

By another hypocritical pretence, it was suggested by Henry himself that "the wealth of the religious houses might be turned to better use whereby . . . children should be brought up in learning, clerics nourished in the universities, almshouses for poor folk, readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipends . . . besides many new bishoprics be made."

But the Act passed in 1539 said nothing of these things, merely securing to the king's own use the property of "any such monasteries as had come into his hands." Of this a very small proportion was set aside to found six bishoprics and to complete Wolsey's half-finished "Cardinal's College" at Oxford, henceforth to be known as Christ Church. The rest went into the royal coffers, along with the gold, silver, and jewels torn from the shrine of Archbishop Thomas Becket at Canterbury, the object of mediæval veneration for nearly four centuries. This last act of pillage was, indeed, symbol-

ical of the whole matter, for the shrine of one who had successfully withstood royal aggression for the honour of the Catholic Church was desecrated by a king who had sold his rights as a son of that Church, for the price of a light woman and a coffer of gold.

§ 3. **Effect of the Suppression.**—The fall of the monasteries affected the whole population in the most intimate manner. The wide abbey lands which stretched all over England were divided among the new nobility, men of the rich merchant class who could afford to pay well for their demesnes; or among those, like Cromwell, who had earned a princely fee for their despicable service. These sublet some of their new estates to small farmers of the yeoman class, but on terms very different from those of the easygoing abbot landlord. The new spirit of money-making had already pervaded all classes of society. The poorer classes suffered acutely. They had lost their kindly patrons and employers; their former occupation in countless instances had vanished, and in cases of destitution there were no means whatever of relief. The new landlords cared nothing for their needs, for the old personal ties had completely vanished; and in very many instances the miseries of the peasant were increased by new developments of the "enclosure system." This, by turning large tracts of ploughland into grassland, threw the labourers out of work, and, as Sir Thomas More had already complained in his days, "made sheep to eat men."

On the universities, those seats of sound learning, which had depended so much on the aid of the Church, the effect of the Suppression was especially disastrous. Poor students could no longer look for help to the old religious corporations, for these were fast disappearing. At Oxford in 1547 and 1550 there were no student graduates at all. Years later the Cambridge scholars begged for royal privileges "lest learning there fall into total destruction."

The loss of the priceless contents of the monastic libraries, as well as the desecration of churches, which took place in the next reign had a marked effect upon the intellectual and religious temper of a period that had taught men not only by book-learning, but by means of beautiful buildings, carven screens, decorated walls and windows. During the black years ahead, the ancient seats of learning were too much absorbed in religious controversy to have time for the liberal

arts, while the break with Rome cut them off very largely from any connection with the best work of Continental scholars.

A strange Nemesis overtook the man at whose instigation these things had come about. In the hope of maintaining a close connection with other Protestant princes, Cromwell, now Earl of Essex, was aiming at a marriage between his royal master and Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, one of the Protestant princes who had revolted against Catholic Emperor and Pope. For when Henry had once wearied of Anne Boleyn, her execution had quickly followed. His new wife, Jane Seymour, died at the birth of her son Edward, and thus left Essex free to carry out his project. The fickle king, however, disliked the appearance of the princess of Cleves as much as what he called her "heretical opinions." A divorce was speedily arranged by Archbishop Cranmer, and this was followed by a marriage with Catherine Howard. When she, in her turn, lost her head on the scaffold, he married a wife, —Catherine Parr—who was fortunate enough to survive him. But Essex was never forgiven for his error of judgment in the case of the Flemish princess, and in 1540, just after the spoliation of the monasteries was complete, he was accused of treason and executed. His end was doubtless hastened by the influence of the Howard family, who had their private axe to grind; his intense unpopularity with the nation also accounts for the speed with which he fell from power. As for the king, he not only bought the goodwill of his people at the cost of his former favourite: he also took possession of the very large sums of money and huge amounts of monastic treasure that Essex had accumulated within his palace in the Strand.

During the seven years that elapsed before his own death, Henry had leisure to recognize some of the effects of the Schism he had brought about. England, now cut off from Catholic Christendom, was dependent for her religion on a State-made Church and the will of a despotic king. Her people, far from holding the freedom of which they boasted, were shackled in mind and soul by the variable opinions of Crown and Parliament. No changes in doctrine had as yet been made. They were, indeed, forbidden by the *Act of Six Articles* (1539). But the door had been opened to heresy by the substitution of private judgment for authority in the matter of the royal divorce, and it was impossible that it should ever be closed again.

§ 4. **Protestant Development under Edward VI.**—The immediate effect upon doctrine was seen in the reign of Edward VI. The ten-year-old king was in the hands of a small group of men of the extreme Protestant faction, chief among whom were Archbishop Cranmer and Edward's uncle Seymour, Earl of Somerset. The fact that they had the king crowned as a Catholic did not prevent these men from making sweeping changes in religion. The aim of Seymour was frankly to plunder all that was left of Catholic treasures, and churches and altars were now openly robbed and devastated; and as this could only be excused by a pretence of religious zeal, a deadly attack was made upon the central Catholic doctrine of Holy Mass. Altars were not only stripped but desecrated, the altar stones being, in many cases, laid across the threshold that they might be trampled under foot, and vestments were made into dresses for the wives whom the clergy were now permitted to marry.

The conduct of Somerset, led as he was by lust of money and power, is less revolting than that of the renegade Cranmer, once a Catholic prelate and a persecutor of those who had leaned to Lutheranism in the previous reign. His book of homilies, his English catechism based on a Lutheran model, his compilation of a prayer-book from which the Mass was excluded, show that his aim was the creation of a religion for England completely Protestant in character. Before long the kingdom was flooded by the doctrines of Luther and his followers. When religious authority was represented by a plunderer and a renegade priest, moral restraint and reverence disappeared. The people began to split up into factions. One of these denied the divinity of Our Blessed Lord; another preached loudly against infant baptism. One party tried to compromise by adapting Catholic ritual to a Protestant prayer-book; another, despairing of a settlement, became indifferent to all matters of religion. So that Somerset, pulling down churches and using their stones to build his own palace of Somerset House, was performing a symbolic act. In the downfall of the ancient Faith was involved those institutions so intimately connected with religion. The gilds disappeared, on the ground that they were religious bodies, and a period of great industrial confusion was the result. Unemployment was rife, and discipline non-existent. Royal proclamations were necessary to forbid "quarrelling and

shooting in churches, and the bringing of horses and mules through the same, making God's House like a stable or common inn." Another proclamation declared that "ministers are not to be mobbed or hustled," and "church plate and furniture is not to be stolen outright." The description given by Latimer, Protestant Bishop of Worcester, speaks for itself. "Schools are not maintained, scholars have not exhibitions, the preaching office decayeth. The gentry invade the profits of the Church, leaving but the title; . . . benefices are let out in fee farms, given to servants for keeping of hounds, hawks, and horses. The clergy, kept by sorry pittances, are forced to put themselves into gentlemen's houses and serve as clerks of kitchens." At the same time the Council received information that "private men's halls are hung with altar cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes, that some at dinner drank from chalices . . .," and that the wives of the married clergy wore robes made of the vestments formerly used at Mass.

§ 5. **Effect on Social Conditions.**—The Reformation, in its beginnings, had been almost entirely confined to the towns, and its details had been arranged by a very small number of ministers, with Cranmer at their head. But as the years passed, its doctrines spread, and at length the voice of the people made itself heard. Hitherto, the mass of the population had been too bewildered by the sudden changes made in doctrine and administration, and perhaps too mindful of the fact that fifteen priests and five laymen had already lost their lives in the previous reign for refusing to accept the king as supreme ruler of the Church, to declare their own opinions. But by this time they were beginning to feel the full effects of the Schism. Their rents had been raised, their "commons" taken from them and their pigs and cows driven on to the roadside, their coinage was debased, and whole estates on which they had formerly lived and worked were laid waste or turned into grass lands. "Complaints were heard in every part of the kingdom," and the enforcement of the English prayer-book was the sign for open revolt.

In Devonshire the people complained that "the free-born commonalty was oppressed by a small number of gentry, who glutted themselves with pleasures, while the poor commons would, by daily labour like packhorses, live in extreme slavery; and that holy rites were abolished and a new form

of religion obtruded." They demanded that the Mass should be restored and some at least of the monasteries, and that priests be not allowed to marry, "since they be so sotted of wives and children that they forget their poor neighbours and all other matters of their calling."

After this brief attempt at revolt was crushed, a more serious outbreak made itself felt in Norfolk, under a tanner named Ket (1549), with whom rose a large part of the people of the Eastern counties, demanding the abolition of "enclosures." This revolt was put down by foreign troops under Warwick, the future Earl of Northumberland, who made its occasion the pretext for the downfall and execution of his rival Somerset.

The Protectorate of Northumberland, 1549–1553.—During this man's protectorate a period of extreme religious intolerance set in. Those bishops who would not conform were deprived and imprisoned. The *Act of Uniformity,* which enjoined the use of the English prayer-book, was enforced on pain of imprisonment. Anything that Somerset had left to the churches of value or beauty was plundered or destroyed.

The weak young king, during whose reign the nation had seen the loss of Boulogne, the people upheaved by revolt and discontent, and the status of the whole country very definitely lowered in the eyes of Europe, died in 1553. His successor, according to his will, was his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, a girl of sixteen who had been married to Lord Guildford Dudley, son of Northumberland; and the latter, in the hope of keeping the reins of government in his own hands, at once proclaimed her queen.

But now the country had its chance. The nobility and gentry, who hated Northumberland, flocked to the side of Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII., and undoubtedly the next heir. Even the troops of the unpopular earl deserted to her standard. The very men who had sworn to support Jane Grey were the first to bid Northumberland disband his army, and in spite of the fervid preaching of Ridley, Bishop of London, against a Catholic succession, Mary was given by the citizens a triumphant welcome as she rode through the city.

In vain did the cowardly Northumberland "turn his coat," exhorting the nation "to stand to the religion of their ancestors, rejecting that of later date, which had occasioned

all the misery of the foregoing thirty years." Such hypocrisy was too easily detected. His execution was a foregone conclusion, but Mary wished to spare the "nine-days queen" and her boy husband. This she would have done, had it not been for the unsettlement that existed as long as they were possible successors to the throne, and for the insistent urging of her cousin the Emperor Charles.

§ 6. **The Catholic Reaction under Mary,** 1553–1558.—The fact that Mary was hailed as queen with universal enthusiasm shows how sound was the view of the nation as a whole as regards the Catholic Faith. The tragedy of the reign lies in the facts that the queen, surrounded by councillors of whom not one could be trusted, turned to foreign princes, ignorant of English conditions, for advice, and that, being by temperament a Tudor, she was determined to force a country, now in an indescribable state of religious chaos, to accept her will both in regard to her marriage and to matters of Church discipline.

A deeply religious Catholic, her first aim naturally was to restore to the Church the lands and wealth of which it had been robbed. But this was a matter that bristled with difficulties. The lands had changed owners frequently, and had been divided and subdivided. Many owners had died, their heirs had succeeded by law, or their property had been legally purchased by others. The work of restoration had become an impossibility, and the queen could not press it to a conclusion. But the fact that its accomplishment was her dearest wish not only kept the owners uneasy, but influenced them strongly against the religion which urged her to it.

Mary's second aim, and one that could be immediately fulfilled, was the resignation of the title "Head of the Church," and the restoration of the income drawn from "tenths" and "firstfruits" to religious purposes. Westminster Abbey was re-endowed by her, and a few hospitals; but even this act of justice was used against her by the councillors, who, in spite of a pretended zeal for the old Faith, were not prepared to pay one penny for its maintenance.

The real cause, however, of the nation's growing prejudice against the queen was the marriage arranged with her cousin Philip, King of Spain, son of the Emperor and heir to the Empire, the foremost Catholic sovereign in Europe. From an economic point of view, the union of England with the

richest country on the Continent might well have been an advantage, and this, no doubt, was a strong motive with a queen who frequently declared that "her realm was her first husband, and no inducement should make her violate the faith pledged to her people." But, politically, the marriage was a disaster. Those who held Church lands opposed it in the fear that so staunch a Catholic as the King of Spain would insist on their restoration to newly founded monasteries. Others feared that England would become a province of Spain. Misled by falsehoods and exaggerated fears, the nation became panic-stricken. A rising in Kent under Wyatt (1554) was quelled by Mary's courage in the face of danger. "Stand fast against these rebels and fear them not," she cried as she rode amongst the London citizens, "for I assure you I fear them not at all."

But the result of this rising was seen in a sterner note of rule. Wyatt, Lady Jane Grey, and her husband were beheaded. Elizabeth, her sister, always the willing centre of plots and counter-plots, narrowly escaped the same fate. The marriage with Philip was celebrated in 1554, and in that same year Cardinal Pole arrived in England, as papal legate, to receive the submission of the English Church to the see of Rome. Together with the members of the two Houses of Parliament, Philip and Mary knelt before the Pope's representative and made their submission to him in the name of their realm.

Five months later began that persecution of the Protestants which has been associated with the name of Mary I. when all her other acts, her leniency to her enemies and opponents, her personal economy for the sake of the impoverished realm, her charity and generosity, have been forgotten.

That this persecution was not instigated by Philip seems clear from the fact that his own chaplain preached strongly in his presence, and that of the queen, against temporal penalties for religious opinions. His almost constant absence and his preoccupation with the French war also go to prove that he had little to do with it. Some historians would have us believe that Mary had small voice in the matter also, being so incapacitated by fast-increasing disease that she had to leave much of the government of her realm to Bishops Gardiner and Bonner. But, though the queen was clearly reluctant to shed blood, we can scarcely believe that she, a Tudor, had no

will in the matter. What must be remembered is the fact that in those days, by the common law of Europe, heresy was a definite sin with a definite death penalty attached, that the burning of the body was regarded as a chance of saving the heretical soul, and that it was an ordinary mediæval, though un-English, practice so to punish heretics, in days when violent death occasioned far less horror than in modern times.

Some of those who suffered at the stake were Anabaptists, a sect suspected as much for its socialism as its heresy; many others were foreign "heresy-mongers" who had evidently settled in the East and South-East of England, near their original landing-place. For, while one hundred and twenty-eight persons were burnt in London, fifty-five at Canterbury, and nearly as many at Norwich, there were never more than seven victims in dioceses more distant from the coast. Five bishops, twenty-one clergy, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artisans, a hundred labourers, fifty-five women, and four children make up the melancholy penal list of Mary's reign; and of these, many suffered for reasons not entirely connected with religion. Yet the fact remains that the very people who looked on unmoved at the fires of Smithfield in 1554 "shouted Amen to the prayers of the last of the victims" in 1558. For by that time the Spanish marriage had dragged Mary into an imprudent war with France and cost England the town of Calais, last of the English possessions on the Continent. Henceforth, for the great mass of a people who had completely lost their religious balance in the past years of unsettlement, the Catholic Faith was identified with an unpopular cause, and Protestantism became the fashion, when, as in the next reign, it was linked up with material advantages and the chance of seizing the ocean trade of Spain.

Amongst those who died at the stake was one whom no hasty recantations, no insincere declarations could save. Thomas Cranmer, the instigator of the divorce which insulted Mary's own mother, had at first been treated with leniency, and merely ordered to remain within his palace at Lambeth. From thence, hearing that the Mass had once again been sung in his former cathedral at Canterbury, he chose with the aid of Bishop Latimer to publish a bitter attack upon the central doctrine of the Catholic Church. Upon this both he and Latimer were imprisoned in the Tower for "seditious demeanour" (1553). Thence they were taken, in 1556, with Ridley,

late Bishop of London, to Oxford, and after trial were condemned for treason and heresy to be burnt. Ridley and Latimer, who were offered life if they would recant, died courageously for a mistaken ideal.

But when Cranmer seven times over abjured his belief, and, pretending to be a convert to the Faith he had once held as a Catholic, offered his submission to the Council, pardon was refused. Even if his political offences could have been overlooked, the fact that he had been the prime mover in the Schism in Henry's reign and the organizer of the new religion in that of Edward made it necessary that he should suffer "for ensample's sake." So, while she rejoiced in his conversion to the Faith, the queen did not swerve from his condemnation, and the insincerity of his many recantations was proved by the fact that he died declaring himself an open enemy of the Church.

During the last two years of her reign the tragedy of Mary Tudor grew darker day by day. Deeply religious herself, she saw her people growing more and more estranged from a Faith that they wrongly identified with Spanish oppression and papal tyranny. Warmly affectionate in spite of her cold exterior, she knew herself to be a neglected and unloved wife. With the interests of the nation, "her first husband," strongly at heart, she felt only too clearly that religious persecution, mistaken policy, and lack of mutual understanding, had hopelessly estranged from her the affection of her people. Worn out by a terrible disease, she died in 1558, conscious of failure where all her dearest hopes were concerned.

§ 7. **The Elizabethan Phase of the Reformation.**—With the accession of Elizabeth, a woman who combined the astuteness of the Tudors with the unscrupulous vulgarity of her mother, Anne Boleyn, the Reformation took its final shape.

As a Tudor, Elizabeth meant to have her will, regardless of Catholic prejudices and Protestant hopes, as well as of the opinions of Parliament or people in general. A pagan at heart, she regarded the whole religious question from a purely political point of view. To accept Papal Supremacy was to confess her own inability, as the daughter of an unlawful union, to inherit the crown. But the greater part of her people were Catholics who did accept that supremacy; these must thenceforth be forced from that position by fair means or foul.

Announcing, " I will do as my father did," she saw to it that her first Parliament of 1559 annulled the Catholic legislation of the last reign, restored the Protestant prayer-book of 1552, " from which every vestige of the Mass in its essential parts had been removed,"[1] and passed a new *Act of Uniformity*, which imposed heavy penalties on those who refused to attend Protestant services. More fundamental still was her new *Act of Supremacy*, which, while it made a faint attempt to conciliate Catholics by dropping the title " Head of the Church," frankly declared the queen " Supreme Governor of the Realm," in religious as well as political affairs. The supremacy of the Pope was explicitly denied by a clause enacting that " no foreign bishop shall hold authority in this land."

Thus England was finally severed from the Catholic Church of Christendom, and as an organized association the Catholic Church in England came, for a time, at least, to an end. For the Papal Supremacy, the safeguard of Unity of Faith, was gone.

The Sacrifice of the Mass, the first object of the Reformers' attack, was deliberately obliterated from the public service book, and the whole idea of a sacrificing priesthood, upon which the doctrine of the Mass depended, fell with it.

The immediate result was as follows:

The Catholic bishops, who had fought to the uttermost against the Act, were deposed for refusing the Oath of Supremacy; many were imprisoned, some fled abroad, some died a natural death. Thus at this crisis the clergy and laity were left without leaders and without plans for the future, and the result was an almost complete surrender.

" The ranks of the papists have fallen almost of their own accord," writes the Protestant Bishop Jewel, and those who should have stood firmest by reason of their position were among the first to fall. " The great mass of clergy, unwilling but submissive, read the schismatical homilies from the altar, at which they prayed according to a rite which in their hearts they condemned."[2] That some did resist is certain, for in a few remote country places the Mass was still secretly celebrated, and nearly forty years later there were some Marian

[1] Cardinal Gasquet, *England's Breach with Rome.*

[2] Fr. Pollen's *English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth*, to which I am indebted for much of this chapter.

priests still at work; others gave in for a time, and later on were reconciled gladly to the Church; many fled overseas; but many others quietly relinquished all outward sign of office and were merged among the laity.

As for the latter, submission was slow and reluctant, but for all but a gallant minority inevitable. The two universities held out for a time; at Winchester we read that the boys all refused to attend the new services, and that, when forced to do so by troops summoned from Southampton, twelve ran away. Many of the great landowners continued for a time to keep a private chaplain and to hear Mass in their own chapels, and since the Oath was at first only imposed on those who held office, these went on much as before, regardless, merely contemptuous of the Protestant minister in the church at their gates. But public education, all offices and forces of the Crown, as well as every church, were given over to those who had abjured the ancient Faith, and those who hoped to maintain their aloof attitude in peace soon found themselves mistaken. For Elizabeth had taken, as her secretary and counsellor, William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, a "determined destroyer of the Church in which he was brought up." Alone at first, and later on with the aid of Walsingham, this man determined to root out the ancient Faith from the land. That the queen, Tudor despot though she was, depended greatly upon Cecil, is certain, and English Catholics, in their extraordinary loyalty to her, did their utmost to excuse her treatment of them by putting the blame upon him. But this does not excuse a queen who at her coronation had solemnly sworn to uphold the Church "as it had been in the days of Edward the Confessor," and who within three months had imposed a test that drove a deep line of cleavage between that Church and the English establishment.

§ 8. **The Elizabethan Persecution.**—The means by which the Faith was to be rooted out was, first of all, by the extinction of the priesthood, which would leave the people without priest or teacher or Sacraments, and, if that failed, by an unremitting persecution. Some of the details of this will be seen in the next chapter. Here we may briefly sketch the special causes and occasions of it.

In 1561 Pope Pius IV. wished to enter into friendly negotiations with Elizabeth on behalf of the Catholics by sending a papal envoy. The entry of the latter was forbidden, and, in

panic, a persecution was set on foot which filled the prisons with those suspected of loyalty to the old Faith. This was increased in severity in 1562 when the Pope distinctly forbade Catholics to attend the English Church services, even if they only made outward "conformity." This renewed persecution had, apparently, no very great effect, for we find the Lord Keeper complaining to the Commons in 1563, "So few come to service for want of discipline, and the Church is so unrepleni-shed; . . . therefore, if the law be too easy, let it be made sharper; if already well, then see it executed."

In 1569 the failure of the "Rising of the North," an attempt on the part of the Northern earls to restore the Catholic religion, again roused a bitter spirit of reprisals against the leaders and their tenant followers, but this was overwhelmed a few months later by the fury roused in the minds of the queen and her advisers by the publication of the Papal Bull of 1570.

The wisdom of this Bull, or letter, of St. Pius V., has been doubted by both friends and enemies of the Church. Yet it was the outcome of a strong conviction that something must be done to mark the outrage done to Catholic Christendom by the English queen. Neither Spain nor France would stir in the matter, for political reasons; hence it was the duty of the Head of Christendom to make it clear that Elizabeth and her followers were cut off from the Catholic Church, and that to accept and submit to her was to reject that Church.

It is true that an excommunication which, in former days, would have shaken the very foundations of the throne, now fell idly on the ears of a Europe wilfully deaf to all but political matters. It is also true that the prestige of the Pope was thereby lessened, and that the consciences of loyal Catholics were sorely troubled by a conflict between political and religious loyalty.

All these facts have been urged against the Bull. It is even possible to argue that if the Pope had known more of the condition of the country it would not have been published, for it afforded the Government an excellent excuse for making Catholics henceforth appear in the light of political traitors. On the other hand, it had the excellent and immediate result of causing people, formerly inclined to waver, to come out in the open and declare their minds. Thus, the Parliament that met to take measures against the Bull put an end to all pretences of "being Catholic without the Pope" by

forcing the queen to allow the *Thirty-nine Articles*, in all their Calvinistic nakedness, to be appended to the Book of Common Prayer. And, on the other side, in spite of the heavy fines and imprisonment now put in force against all who did not "keep their Church," there now appeared a definite and increasing class of "Recusants"—men and women who preferred to face poverty, prison, and even death rather than attend the services of a heretic Church.

§ 9. **The Coming of the Mission Priests.**—These years, 1572–1573, were dark times for Catholics in England, but already, from across the seas, a promise of light was beginning to be seen. From Spain, which had taken no part, either as friend or foe, in the Reformation conflict on the Continent, came the promise of a zealous band of the sons of Ignatius, founder of the Jesuits, who were to save the faith of Europe. From Douay in Belgium came word of a troop of "Seminarists," priests trained definitely for the English Mission in the college founded by Cardinal Allen, and soon placed under Jesuit control. As early as 1575 one of these young enthusiasts could write to Allen from his hiding-place in England, "The number of Catholics is increasing daily, so that Lord Burghley is looking askance at the wonderful and constant growth. He confesseth that for one staunch and constant Catholic at beginning of the reign he was sure there are now ten. He sees that he makes no progress by depriving them of honours and dignities, nor by confiscation of goods, prison or exile—not even death can terrify them."

This movement was followed in 1580 by the arrival of Jesuit missionaries from the English college at Rome, an event the importance of which can scarcely be exaggerated. Henceforth there was to be no tame surrender, nor even passive resistance, for the little band of persecuted Catholics, but a flame of enthusiasm for the Faith which, if it led, as it so often did, to the scaffold, brought back the Mass to England and safeguarded it for future generations. The aim of that gallant band, fired with the zeal of the "Counter-Reformation" on the Continent and with the truest type of religious patriotism, was not to stir up disloyalty to the queen, not even to wage war against the Protestantism she had established. They had, indeed, explicitly gained from the Pope the assurance that they should not be fettered in any way by the excommunication pronounced by his predecessor, and their own

superiors had expressly forbidden them to "entangle themselves in matters of State." But their aim was to safeguard the faith of English Catholics by restoring to them the Sacraments of which they had been deprived, and to reconcile to Mother Church a host of unhappy souls who had wandered, through weakness or apprehension, from her arms.

EXERCISES

1. Show how far the Renaissance movement affected the "Reformation."
2. Write a brief essay on the Suppression of the Monasteries.
3. What were the social effects of the Great Pillage?
4. Show briefly the main lines of the development, or reaction, of the Reformation movement under (*a*) Edward VI., (*b*) Mary, (*c*) Elizabeth.
5. Summarize the effect of the Schism on the social history of the time.
6. Write a short, vivid account of the conditions of Catholics under Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM—SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (1560–1600)

We have now seen, in bare detail, how the English Reformation movement had been employed by Elizabeth Tudor to form a State Church, dependent upon her will. We have only to recall the immensely important part hitherto played by the Catholic Church, now apparently destroyed in this country, to realize the effect this would have upon the political events of this reign.

It must be remembered that Elizabeth's policy had been dictated not in the least by religious convictions, but by her certainty that the material welfare of her subjects, as well as her own personal security, could best be obtained by an act of spiritual treason to the Catholic Church. The isolation of England from the rest of Catholic Christendom thus became the main factor in that rapid growth of Nationalism which marks the second half of the sixteenth century.

Growth of Nationalism (1558–1600).—In connection with this movement we may fix our attention on four main points:

(i) The economic changes which affected England, and acted both as a cause and a result of the National Spirit.

(ii) The tragedy of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was one of the main obstacles to a movement which aimed at establishing a solid and centralized nation, at one with the will of a Tudor queen and government.

(iii) The struggle with Spain, which not only drew the nation together for mutual defence, but inspired it with the definite ideal of obtaining supremacy by sea.

(iv) The exploration and colonization exploits, which were the outcome of success in the struggle with Spain.

§ 1. **The Economic Condition of England,** 1558–1600.—At the beginning of this period England, owing to certain definite causes, had fallen well behind Spain and France as a leading nation of Europe. Her schism from the Catholic Church had cut her off from sources necessary both for military and industrial purposes. She had no munitions, and the saltpetre and sulphur which produced gunpowder were controlled by Catholic Powers. She had no mining industries, and she found Catholic ports closed to her for the importation of iron and copper. She knew scarcely anything of the new methods of brass founding or mining. And the coffers of the State, in spite of the wholesale robbery of the Church, were nearly empty.

Yet during the next fifty years these difficulties were overcome, and England not only became strong enough to win the supremacy of the sea from Spain but also claimed to be one of the foremost commercial countries in Europe. This was largely due to the policy of Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state, an astute personage who had pretended to be a Catholic in the reign of Mary, but who, even before her death, had preferred the material advantages to be gained by supporting the views of her sister, and henceforth worked with her in close concord.

Realizing that in England's condition of weakness war must be avoided at all costs, since there was no money to pay an army of mercenaries, and no population of size and strength to fight, their joint aim was to maintain peace even at the price of honour. Thus, for thirty years they avoided war with Spain, even though her ruler was openly supporting the claims of Mary Stuart to the English crown. Nor were they moved by the appeal of the protestant Netherlands, who looked to Elizabeth, now posing as the champion of religious liberty, to free them from the rule of Spain.

Even the massacre of the Huguenots of France, in 1572,

though it cooled the Anglo-French *entente* for a while, did not lead to open war. Not till after the year 1585 was the long truce with the Continent actually broken, and then only a few troops were sent to aid the Netherlanders in the battle of *Zutphen* (1586). The real struggle was to come by sea in the year 1588.

Meantime everything was done at home to increase and strengthen the population. Agriculture, so long the Cinderella of the State, was improved to some extent by breaking up pasture and waste land for corn-growing. The regulations that bound the farmer to buy and sell goods in one market were removed, and the export of corn was encouraged. The wool trade began to flourish anew, the price of cloth increased, an attempt was made at a closer bond between farmer, woolmercer, and weaver.

To enlarge the seafaring population, fishing trades were revived, and by Act of Parliament fish was bound to be eaten by everyone three times a week. To aid industry and commerce, foreign companies for brass founding and mining were welcomed, and meantime everything possible was done to develop native resources, such as the hardware and sailcloth for which England became famous throughout Europe. Alien adventurers brought such new industries as glass, paper, and soap manufactures. And, since "capital" to maintain this policy was lacking, foreign capitalists were induced to employ their wealth in this country.

The material result of all this was that England became one of the most prosperous countries in Europe and the successful rival of Spain on the high seas. But at this point two facts must be remembered. The conquest of Spain by sea was due, not so much to England's prowess, as to the fact that Spain had by this time lost much of the power her wealth had given her. She had made the fatal mistake of locking up the wealth that had come to her in such abundance from America instead of using it for the welfare of the nation, and this was at the root of her rapid rise and no less rapid fall.

England, on the other hand, spurred on by poverty, had little on which to build her prosperity save the resources of her own industries and agriculture. Instead of depending, as Spain depended, upon her nobles, she allowed herself to be developed by her middle-class population. But her progress in this respect was successful only on the surface; it contained

a flaw that was to have ill consequences in years to come. By this rapid transference of wealth to the hands of a few men, many of them alien adventurers, a new " capitalist " class was created, whose object was to obtain the direction of industry. One of the results of this may be seen in the destruction of the craft gilds, which aimed at " order rather than progress, stability rather than expansion," and preferred, at any rate in their best days, to maintain a just co-operation among many, rather than to amass money in the hands of the few. The permanent effect on English social life will be seen later on, and more especially when we come to study the condition of England at the time of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century. Moreover, it must always be remembered that the " prosperity and wealth " of which we hear so much in Elizabethan days was confined to a small part of the population. The greater part existed in utmost poverty. " The poor are everywhere," was the queen's remark during one of the royal progresses that cost her nobility so dear. It is, indeed, only necessary to compare the condition of the labourers in the days of Henry VII. and those of Elizabeth to see the effect of the Reformation on the poor. In the former reign " the mass of English labourers . . . were thriving under their gilds and trade unions, the peasants gradually acquiring land, and becoming small freeholders, the artisans the master hands in their craft . . . planning solid and handsome structures . . . and withal working with their own hands on the buildings which their shrewdness and experience had planned."[1]

In contrast to this we can construct the condition of the Elizabethan labourer and artisan from the *Statute of Labourers* passed under Elizabeth. " He was handed over to the mercy of his employer at a time when he was utterly incapable of resisting the grossest tyranny. Justices in quarter sessions were empowered to check any discontent and, if necessary, to starve the people into submission. . . . Their object was to get labour at starvation wages." Its aim, in short, was to break up the combinations of labourers and artisans, to control industry, and to increase by force, if necessary, the supply of labour. But forced labour means serfdom, and where wages do not afford a fair return for work,

[1] Thorold Rogers' *The Economic Interpretation of History*—an account that has been challenged but never disproved.

vagrancy and destitution reign supreme. The Elizabethan poor-law, passed in 1601, was an honest attempt to deal with the misery of the people, but its chief effect was to perpetuate that terrible consequence of the Reformation, pauperism established by law.

§ 2. **The Tragedy of Mary, Queen of Scots.**—To understand the history of this unhappy queen, round whom raged plots and counterplots for the nineteen years of imprisonment that preceded her execution at the hands of her cousin Elizabeth, we must take a brief glance at events in Scotland since the year 1542, when Mary became queen. Two parties existed in that country: one Protestant, led by John Knox, to which belonged many of the more powerful nobles; the other Catholic, supported by the Court under the Regent, Mary of Guise, and Cardinal Beaton. This last faction hoped to strengthen itself by a French alliance, which Somerset had tried to frustrate forcibly by a marriage between Edward VI. and the child queen, Mary Stuart. But though victorious at the battle of *Pinkie* (1547), he gained nothing in the end, for Mary was promptly shipped across to France and betrothed there to the Dauphin, the future king.

By 1560 Protestantism, which had continued to flourish under Knox, was established as the faith of Scotland; and it was to a kingdom of dour Presbyterians that Mary, a youthful widow, returned after her husband's brief reign and early death. Filled with the gay spirit of the French Court, a Catholic, and in all Catholic eyes the true heir to the English throne after Mary of England, Mary of Scotland became a thorn in the side of the Protestants in both countries and an object of hatred and suspicion to Elizabeth.

Hence it became the policy of the latter to support the Protestant party in Scotland, and thus to keep Mary occupied in dealing with her own turbulent lords. Meantime Mary had strengthened her claim by marrying Lord Darnley, who, after herself, was next heir to the English throne. The marriage itself was a tragedy, for Darnley was a weak and vicious youth, whose jealousy led to the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary, under her very eyes. In the next year, 1567, he himself met a mysterious end at Kirk o' Fields, a house outside Edinburgh, where he lay sick of the smallpox. The house was blown up, and the body of the earl, untouched by the explosion, was found dead in a field hard by. The

Protestant party at once seized on the fact as a weapon against the queen. The Earl of Bothwell, Darnley's rival, was openly accused of the crime and Mary of complicity in it. While all this was in the air, Bothwell suddenly appeared on the scene, carried off the queen to his feudal castle of Dunbar, and within a few weeks made her his wife.

This was the signal for the Protestant " Lords of the Congregation " to rise in arms at Carberry Hill. Not a blow was struck, for Bothwell drew off his forces, and Mary, deserted by her husband, was forced to abdicate in favour of her infant son, James. She was thereupon imprisoned in Lochleven Castle.

There were, however, many chivalrous souls who saw in the queen a victim of the plots of her half-brother Murray and other Scottish lords. With the help of the sons of her warder, Douglas, she escaped, raised an army, and after the defeat at *Langside* (1568), fled from her rebel kingdom to the protection of Elizabeth, asking either aid to recover her crown or a safe conduct to France.

Her action involved Elizabeth in a serious difficulty. If she refused aid, she was supporting a revolting nation against their lawful queen—a bad object-lesson to her people in days when her own position was not too secure. If she sent forces to the help of a Catholic sovereign she would give offence to the Protestant factions in both countries. If she sent Mary to France, a French army might not only reinstate her in Scotland but establish her claim in England. No principle of right dealing towards an unfortunate princess, who had never been proved guilty of the crimes laid to her charge, entered into the question, and Elizabeth solved the problem by keeping Mary a prisoner for nineteen years.

From that time the Scottish queen became the centre of Catholic interest and the motive of every plot made by those who looked upon Elizabeth as illegitimate, and Mary as the lawful heir to the throne. She also became the " catspaw " of Cecil when he wished to stir up new animosity against the " Papists." Into the details of these plots lack of space forbids us to enter. We can but name the four most important, and briefly note the results of them on the Catholic party in England.

(i) **The Rising in the North,** 1569.—The cause of this was not so much the imprisonment of one who was almost universally regarded as Elizabeth's heir, if not her rival, to the throne, as a

determined attempt by the great Catholic lords of the North country, Tempests and Nortons and Dacres and Ratcliffes, to "restore the religion of their ancestors," and to insist on the recognition of a Catholic heir in the person of Mary. Against Elizabeth they declared that they intended no rebellion. Marching on Durham they expelled the Protestant clergy and restored the old altars and the Mass, but the fear of the results of revolution hindered the reinforcements they hoped for, and a terrible retribution followed their dispersal. In every market town between Newcastle and Netherby, "about sixty miles in length and forty miles in breadth," says an eye-witness, "insurgents were strung up to trees and posts," and the Earl of Northumberland was beheaded.

(ii) **The Ridolfi Plot,** 1570.—A year later, the effect of the papal sentence of Excommunication passed on the queen was seen in a plot which aimed at a marriage between Mary and the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, and at setting her on the throne. It was discovered and crushed by Cecil before anything was accomplished.

During the ten years that followed, while Mary was hustled from prison to prison and Elizabeth was constantly plotting with the Scottish earls for her death, the hopes of English Catholics fell to the lowest ebb. Both these plots had been made the excuse for a bitter persecution of priests and people, though we read that "many of the gentry's lives were spared that their lands might be forfeited" and themselves left to swell the ranks of high-born paupers.

We have seen how the excommunication had created a penal code to be used against those priests who should "absolve or reconcile any person" or bring into the realm any tokens, crosses, beads . . . from the Bishop of Rome," and, in short, subjected to the penalty of death any Catholic priest who did his duty. In 1572 the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in Paris and elsewhere, strengthened the hands of the Protestants, and now not only priests, but laymen who had not "kept their Church" were imprisoned. An army of spies and informers patrolled the country "living by their wits and feeding partly on the terrors of others and partly upon the letter of the law as laid down in the recent Acts—wretches who had everything to gain by straining the penalties to the utmost, for they claimed their share of the spoil."[1]

[1] Canon Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House.*

Another serious drawback for Catholics at this period was due to the fact that the most learned men of their Faith, including distinguished members of both universities, were by this time either exiles in a foreign land or in prison for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy. Hence, education for the sons of Catholic gentry in their own country became almost impossible. The whole educational system of England was at this time at its lowest point. It was supposed still to rest in the hands of the clergy, and their fitness for the task may be seen from the words of the Protestant Cartwright to Archbishop Whitgift: "There be admitted into the ministry (many) of the baser sort . . . such as suddenly are changed out of a serving man's coat into a minister's cloak, making for the most part the ministry their last refuge." It is true that a certain number of grammar schools had been hastily founded during the past forty years, to fill the gap caused by the destruction of the monastic institutions, but these were scarcely two hundred in number even at the end of the century. It is also true that since the days of the Catholic Dean Colet, the friend of Sir Thomas More and the founder of St. Paul's School, much greater interest had been roused in the subject of education, and the air was full of educational experiments. But the whole system was chaotic and sadly wanting in method, and for Catholic boys an impossibility. Meantime, on the Continent, the Jesuits, sons of Ignatius Loyola, had perfected a system which stands unrivalled to the present day. On their model, as we have seen, the English Cardinal Allen had founded Douay College as a training-ground for the missionary priests of which England was now so greatly in need. To send a boy to Douay or to any foreign college was soon made a penal offence, but this did not prevent a constant stream of admissions from England, and in the year 1580 the forces latent both in Douay and in the English college at Rome, under the direction of the Jesuits, made themselves strongly felt in this country.

§ 3. **The Jesuit Mission.**—The leading spirit of the latter was Father Parsons, a man of infinite resource, foresight, and determination, whose aim was the conversion of England and her submission to the Papacy. One of the first of the ardent spirits who set forth on that crusade was the gallant young priest, Edmund Campion, Bluecoat boy, Oxford undergraduate, ardent convert and most zealous son of Ignatius,

who for a year lived a charmed life, preaching, teaching, writing pamphlets, and arousing an outburst of Catholic fervour such as had not been known for many a day. Then he was taken prisoner, sent to the Tower, and in the midst of bouts of cruel racking, called upon to take part in "Controversies" with the most learned Anglican divines of that day. But these had to be abruptly stopped, since the very ballad-mongers in the streets were singing doggerels of which Campion was the hero. On the first of December, 1581, Father Campion, with three others, was executed under the most brutal circumstances at Tyburn Tree. These were the firstfruits of the Jesuit Mission, though by no means the first priests to suffer for the Faith under Elizabeth.

A strenuous attempt was made to justify these and subsequent executions by declaring the victims to be traitors to the queen. Every doubtful conspiracy unearthed by the secretary Walsingham, whether connected with the captive Queen of Scots or not, was laid to the charge of Jesuit priests, without proof of any kind. But the answer to this charge was given once and for all by Father Campion, immediately after his condemnation as a traitor was announced.

"If our religion doth make us traitors we are worthy to be condemned, but otherwise we are and have been as true subjects as ever the queen had. . . . In condemning us you condemn all your own ancestors—all the ancient priests, bishops, and kings—all that was once the glory of England, the isle of saints and the most devoted child of the see of St. Peter. For what have we taught, however you may qualify it with the odious name of treason, that they did not uniformly teach? To be condemned with these old lights by their degenerate descendants is both gladness and glory to us."

This is not the place to tell the gallant story of those priests and laymen, one hundred and sixty-three in number, who suffered during the reign of Elizabeth alone, and have been already beatified. Altogether, during the period between 1537 and 1681, three hundred and five servants of God were put to death for the Catholic Faith.

Meantime, the actual agents in the net of conspiracy for the release of Mary were Spaniards, aided to some extent by other foreigners, and by a certain Scottish Jesuit, whose capture and subsequent confession of a proposed invasion by the Duke of Guise, supported by Spain, lent much colour to the sus-

picions of Jesuit good faith. Effects of the discovery of this plot were the dismissal of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, the formation of an Association for the Protection of Elizabeth, and the exclusion from the succession of any person on behalf of whom an insurrection should be made. Others were seen in a statute enacting that if any priest were found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, he should be adjudged guilty of high treason, that all persons aiding or receiving him should be liable to the penalties of felony, that all students in Catholic seminaries who did not return within six months of the proclamation should be punished as traitors, and that children sent to seminaries abroad should be disabled from inheriting their parents' property.

Meantime the web of plots and counter-plots with which both friends and foes had surrounded Mary was tightening round the captive queen. The land had now been drenched with the blood of Papists for many years. The countryside was full of old Catholic gentry, whose loyalty was sorely tried by constant fines and periods of imprisonment, and who regarded with increasing contempt the illiterate ministers who had taken the place of the priest in the whitewashed, devastated parish churches. Moreover, a stream of Catholic adventurers, irresponsible aliens for the most part, was always passing to and from the Continent carrying news of pretended plots and invasions. Hence it was no wonder that Elizabethan statesmen of the type of Cecil, now Lord Burghley, and Walsingham, looked on Mary as a serious danger centre. Nor can we wonder if the prisoner, weary to death of long years of captivity, appealed, whenever possible, to Spain and to France for aid. But this alone was not a sufficient reason for her condemnation by a queen who held such strong opinions upon the " divine right of kings " that she would not even send efficient aid to the Netherlanders in their struggle with Spain. There were, however, other ways of compassing her end, and we may be certain that Walsingham was secretly assured of her complaisance when he set on foot the intricate machinery which brought about the death of Mary Stuart. Certain spies, renegade Catholics for the most part, in the pay of Walsingham were set to organize a plot by which the prisoner might be induced to renew, without reserve, her correspondence with her partisans. It was, of course, carefully arranged that all such correspondence should pass through Walsingham's hands.

Where such letters were not sufficiently incriminating it was easy to substitute forgeries, especially when a band of ardent youths led by Anthony Babington, the last of those who laid down their lives for the cause of a queen they had never even set eyes on, was encouraged by the informers of Walsingham to work up a plot whose aim was definitely a Spanish invasion, a Catholic rising, and the assassination of Elizabeth.

The "discovery" of this carefully engineered plot put the life of Mary in the hands of the English queen. She could look for no help to Spain, for Philip's army in the Netherlands had all it could do to hold out against the insurgents and their English allies; nor to France, where Henry III. was hard pressed by religious wars; nor to Scotland, where an open rising on her behalf would imperil her son's accession to the English throne. The one thing that delayed her fate was the reluctance of Elizabeth to assume full responsibility for an act that must profoundly affect Catholic Christendom, and bring a very possible retribution upon her. But the representations of her ministers, her fear of Mary's escape, and her ever-present dread of assassination, overcame her hesitation. In 1587 she signed the document that sent a sister queen, after an imprisonment of nineteen years, to the scaffold. Mary met her end at Fotheringay with perfect courage and dignity, resenting only the unmannerly attempts of a Protestant minister to tamper with her faith, and Elizabeth, after a sorry farce of pretending that she had been executed without her will or consent, prepared to meet the inevitable result.

§ 4. **The Struggle with Spain,** 1588.—It had been clear from the first that the relations between England and Spain must end in open warfare, even on the sole ground that Philip stood as the champion of Catholicism and papal supremacy, Elizabeth of Protestantism and royal autocracy over a "national Church." That war was delayed for the first thirty years of the reign was due to the queen's tact and cautious policy. Both she and Burghley knew well the weakness of a nation torn by religious strife, with an empty treasury, a negligible navy, a non-existent army; with trade slack, poverty supreme, and the last link with the Continent, in the shape of Calais, broken. Therefore Elizabeth had temporized, pretending to consider an alliance with France, which yet must not be made too definite while the Huguenots were under persecution. Even when Spain engaged in open

conflict with the Netherlands, who fought not only for the Lutheran religion, but also for a free Republic, the queen hesitated long before declaring war with Spain by sending forces, under Leicester, to their aid. And when this was done it became a matter of regret, for Leicester showed his vanity and incapacity by concentrating his energy on obtaining for himself the title of Governor of the Netherlands, and his troops, composed largely of discontented English Catholics, went over in considerable numbers to the side of the Spanish Duke of Alva.

Meantime, before the declaration of war had made such action legitimate, Elizabethan seamen, such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir Henry Hawkins, had played the parts of pirates and robbers both on the coasts of the Spanish Empire and in the "Spanish Main," had brought back hoards of treasure, and had established a thriving slave traffic. This threatened supremacy of the sea must be reckoned as one of the chief causes of the actual conflict, though this was hastened and brought to a point by the execution of the Scottish queen.

In 1587 Philip of Spain, with the sanction of Pope Sixtus V., laid formal claim to the crown of England, and prepared to invade the country. For nearly a year the coming of the great fleet, the "Invincible Armada," was delayed by the exploits of Drake, who made a running expedition to the harbour of Cadiz, and burnt large quantities of stores prepared for the expedition. But in 1588, the vast armament set sail under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman inexperienced in naval matters, whose task was to destroy the English navy and to transport the troops of Parma's army from the Low Countries across the Channel.

The English ships, small in size and number, were soon seen to be infinitely superior in tactics and in practical ability. The Spanish idea of fighting was to grapple with the foe and, fighting as on land, to overcome him by sheer weight of numbers. The little English vessels were far more mobile, and could easily sail out of range, and as easily return to pour a broadside on the enemy, while the latter was recovering from his first onslaught. The Spanish fleet had been already weakened by a storm before it sailed up the Channel with the aim of joining Parma at Dunkirk. Harassed by the English navy, and damaged by the fire-ships of Drake, it scattered

in the open sea off Gravelines, and immediately the main part of the English fleet, under the Catholic Lord Howard of Effingham, came into action, and sank the best of the Spanish ships. Another storm completed the disaster which sent a shrunken fleet back to Spain. Both sides realized the part played by a tempest that hindered a foreign power from establishing itself in England. "I sent you," said Philip to his admiral, "to fight, not against winds but against men." And Elizabeth had medals struck bearing the inscription, "God blew with His wind and they were scattered."

At this critical moment, when the future fate of the country hung in the balance, the unanimous support given to the queen by all parties in the realm is remarkable. For once Catholic and Protestant could join in one common expression of loyalty in face of the dread of foreign rule. The Admiral of the Fleet was a Catholic; the Catholic peers armed their tenants for the queen's service; some equipped vessels and gave the command to Protestants; others prepared to fight as privates in the ranks.

"Not one man appeared to favour the Spaniard," says a Protestant contemporary, "the very Papists themselves being no less unwilling than the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in strangers." Those imprisoned for their faith in Ely Castle even signed a declaration that they were ready to fight till death in the queen's cause.

In spite of these facts, to which Elizabeth's own ministers bore witness, the fourteen years that lay between the defeat of the Armada and the queen's death were stained deep with the blood of martyrs for the Faith.

§ 5. **Results of the Victory over Spain.**—The noble Earl of Arundel, who had already suffered long years of imprisonment, was accused of treason on the ground of suspicion that he was a "well-wisher to Spain," and left to die, probably of poison, in the Tower; his condemnation was followed by a veritable reign of terror in which sixty-one priests, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen perished for the crime of either being a priest or "harbouring" one. At the same time the heavy fines for "recusancy" so impoverished the Catholic families, even those who had been foremost in their loyalty, that, as Burghley grimly remarked, no foreign foe need hope to derive aid from the once wealthy Catholic body in England.

This was the result of the failure of the Spanish Expedition for the Catholics. For the nation as a whole, it opened the road to a series of marauding expeditions in Spanish America, and against Spanish vessels, which not only enriched England with stores of much-needed precious metals, but which mark the beginning of the supremacy of England over the sea.

§ 6. **Tudor Exploration and Colonization.**—For the motive power of the Tudor exploration we must look back to the latter years of the fifteenth century, when a fortunate accident led to Spain becoming, in 1492, the patron of the Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus, in his expedition to find a "road to India." This made her the inheritor of his discoveries of America and the West Indies. Columbus himself had declared, "I have only opened the door for others to enter," and one of the first to do so was Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico in 1519. On the wealth of silver and gold thus obtained was built the greatness of the Spanish Empire, the duration of which was shortened, as we have seen, partly by English jealousy and ambition, but still more by her own inability to use her wealth for industrial purposes.

The importance of the discovery of America, not merely to Spain, but to the rest of Europe, must be fully realized.

Not only were two new continents laid open to the world, but a new ocean—the Pacific—offered sea-routes that enabled Europe to trade with half the population of the globe, without dread of Moslem interference. Not only was the size of the world suddenly expanded, from some 3,000 miles to nearly 25,000 miles of circumference, but, as a consequence, the centre of trade activity shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and from the ports of Venice and Genoa to the western coast line of Europe. In consequence, England, formerly "on the edge of the civilized world," now stood in the very centre of the land hemisphere, and her insular position, once a drawback, was now to her advantage. When once her success against the most powerful navy in Europe had proved her capabilities, the "key of the sea" was hers, and she became, to some degree at least, the heir of that vast colonial empire which Spain had built up between the years 1519 and 1532.

So, in Elizabethan times, we find men such as Hawkins and Grenville and Drake and Raleigh, with the blood of Northmen ancestors tingling in their veins, reviving the ancient glories

of an Age of Pirates, and making raids across the newly discovered Atlantic Ocean into the realms of Spain.

We are accustomed to surround these exploits with a kind of nimbus of admiration, as did their own contemporaries. "What English shippes," cries Hakluyt, "did heretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plata—passe and repasse the impassable strait of Magellan—range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of New Spain, further than ever Christian passed, traverse the mighty breadth of the South Seas, land, in despite of the enemy . . . enter into alliance amity and traffike with the prince of the Moluccas and the Isle of Java, double the famous Cape of Good Hope, arrive at the Island of St. Helena, and last of all return home most richly laden with the commodities of China—as the subjects of this now flourishing monarchy have done?"

In his elation, he says nothing of Hawkins's lawless traffic in slaves, of his smuggling and piracy, nor of Drake's raids upon peaceful Spanish towns in days before the declaration of war. The great expedition in which the latter crossed the South Sea in 1578, sailed round the world in spite of mutiny, storm, and desertion, and returned laden with Spanish gold, only proved to his fellow-countrymen that the Spanish supremacy of the sea was fast slipping away and opened the door to other adventurers. One of the most interesting of these was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who sailed in 1583 with four ships to found a colony in Newfoundland, which had been discovered by the brothers Cabot in 1497. His followers, however, knowing nothing of the riches of the cod industry of the future and sorely disappointed at finding no "treasure," forced Gilbert to return. One of the ships was wrecked off the coast of America, and one returned with a grim tale of a great tempest in which the *Golden Hind*, with Gilbert aboard, had been "swallowed up by the sea."

Then we see Martin Frobisher setting off to find a North-West Passage to India. This he did not find, but he took possession of the coast of Labrador in the queen's name. And in 1585 Sir Walter Raleigh, a typical Elizabethan, soldier, sailor, adventurer, and man of letters, took possession of Virginia, so named by him after the "Virgin Queen," which became in later days the nucleus of the British Colonies in North America. Ten years later Raleigh was exploring the River Orinoco and returned with glowing accounts of the gold-

mines and buried treasure of Spanish South America. This made him the object of Spain's bitter hatred, and when, in the next reign, James made peace with that country, Raleigh became the scapegoat for all the piratical raids of his time, and was imprisoned for twelve years in the Tower. His release, in order to search for a goldmine in Guiana, was obviously a trap to bring about his end. The expedition failed, Spain demanded retribution, and the gallant old adventurer was beheaded in 1618.

§ 7. **Relations between England and Wales and Ireland in Tudor Times.**—The fact that the Tudors claimed descent from the Welshman Owen Tudor accounts for the fact that a peaceful union between Wales and England was accomplished by the representation of the former in the English Parliament. More interesting to Catholics is the curious reason why Wales, once the home of most ardent Catholicism, entirely lost the Faith during this period and the next.

We have seen that the whole question of keeping the Faith alive in England depended upon the supply of missionary priests, who not only made converts, but who fed the souls of the faithful with the Sacraments. The chief sources of this supply were, as we remember, the Jesuit colleges abroad, and especially the English College at Rome. Most unfortunately, bad blood arose between the Welsh pupils of this college and the English students, which was reflected in the strained relations between the Welsh head and the Jesuit instructors. "This racial strife," wrote Cardinal Allen, sorely grieved by the quarrel, "is much greater and much further spread by that beginning and root there unluckily planted than you can there perceive." The result was a lasting grudge between the Welsh and the Society of Jesus. The former were often excluded from the Jesuit colleges, and the few that returned to their country found the Welsh prejudiced against them because of their Jesuit training. "Catholicism in Wales died a lingering death of starvation for lack of priests to give the Sacraments."[1] On the other hand, it must be remembered that the great work of restoring the Benedictine Order in England, and of linking it on, through the last surviving member of the old Abbey of Westminster, with the ancient English institution that had converted England, was the work of three Welshmen: Dom John Roberts, Dom

[1] Mgr. Barnes in *Dublin Review*, July 1920: "Wales and the Reformation."

Leander Jones, and Dom Augustine Baker, all former undergraduates of Oxford and converts to the Faith. Laud, of whom we shall hear in the Stuart period, was their fellow-student, and the only one of the little band who remained content with the compromise of "High Anglicanism."

§ 8. **Ireland under Tudor Rule.**—Of the story of Ireland, we can merely touch upon the details most closely connected with English history.

It was the aim of Henry VII. to end the long years of revolt against English rule in Ireland by conciliating the powerful Earl of Kildare, and making him for some years his deputy. Any good this did was, however, undone by the "Poynings' Law," passed during the deputyship of Sir Edward Poynings in 1494, which enacted that no law could be passed in the Irish Parliament till it had received the approval of the King's Council. Henceforth English laws for Irish people became the chief cause of contention between two nations essentially unlike in temperament and character.

In 1539 the Fitzgeralds of Kildare rebelled, and Henry VIII. proceeded to crush the Irish chiefs into submission, and to assume the title of King of Ireland.

Thirty years later another revolt, that of Shan O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, caused Elizabeth to attempt to destroy the rule of chieftains altogether by dividing Ireland into shires ruled by sheriffs, according to English laws.

In 1580 the South of Ireland rose at the call of Desmond, head of the Geraldine clan, in a dangerous revolt in aid of Spain. This was only ended by the capture of Smerwick and the practical extermination of those who had taken part. For awhile the Irish were exhausted, but in 1598 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, stirred up Ulster to revolt. The expedition of the hot-headed Earl of Essex met with failure and led to his disgrace and death, and not till 1603 did Tyrone submit and relinquish "the last great effort to beat back the tide of English domination." His departure from Ireland left Ulster to be colonized by English and Scottish settlers in the days of James I. These gradually extended the sphere of foreign influence, though never with the goodwill of the native Irish.

EXERCISES

1. What elements in the latter part of the sixteenth century tended to the growth of Nationalism?

2. Give points, in form of a debate, for and against the motion

"That Nationalism is more productive of a country's welfare than Internationalism."

3. Discuss the justice, or injustice, of the execution of Mary of Scotland.

4. What were the main effects upon England of the struggle with Spain?

5. Sketch the conditions of English Catholics at this period, with special reference to the Jesuit Mission.

6. Write a brief life, gathered from sources outside this book, of a Jesuit priest during this period.

7. Account for the fact that the Faith was lost to Wales and never wavered in Ireland.

8. Sketch the Exploration Adventures of these years.

LIST OF CHIEF EVENTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, 1485–1603.

1485. Accession of Henry VII.
1492. Perkin Warbeck's appearance. Peace of Étaples.
1496. The *Great Intercourse*.
1509. Accession of Henry VIII.
1512–13. French War. Battle of *Guinegate*. Capture of Tournai.
1513. Battle of *Flodden Field*.
1520. "Field of the Cloth of Gold."
1522. Henry joins the cause of Spain.
1526. Henry joins the cause of France.
1529. Fall of Wolsey. Reformation Parliament.
1530. Death of Wolsey.
1531. Henry declares himself "Supreme Head of the Church."
1534. Acts of Supremacy and Succession.
1535. Martyrdom of Blessed Thomas More and Blessed John Fisher.
1536. Lesser monasteries dissolved. Pilgrimage of Grace.
1539. Greater Monasteries dissolved. Act of Six Articles.
1540. Fall of Cromwell.
1547. Accession of Edward VI. Somerset Protector.
1549. Act of Uniformity. Ket's rebellion.
1549–1553. Northumberland in power.
1553. Accession of Mary I.
1554. Wyatt's rebellion. The Spanish Marriage. Reconciliation with the Holy See.
1558. Loss of Calais. Accession of Elizabeth.
1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
1568. Mary of Scotland takes refuge in England.
1569. The Northern Rising.
1570. Papal Bull of Deposition.
1571. Ridolfi Plot.
1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
1580. The Jesuit Mission. Drake's Voyage round the World.
1585. England supports Netherlands against Spain.
1586. Battle of *Zutphen*. Babington's Conspiracy.
1587. Execution of Mary of Scotland.
1588. The Spanish Armada in the Channel.
1589. The Lisbon Expedition.
1596. The Cadiz Expedition. Death of Drake.

THE PERIOD OF ABSOLUTE RULE

CHAPTER XIII

THE GROWTH OF THE PURITAN SPIRIT—FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (1600–1650)

CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND RULERS

England.	*France.*	*Spain.*
James I., 1603	Henry IV., 1589	Philip III., 1598
Charles I., 1625	Louis XIII., 1610	Philip IV., 1621
(The Commonwealth, 1649–1660)	Louis XIV., 1643	Charles II., 1665
Charles II., 1660		Philip V., 1700
James II., 1685		
William and Mary, 1689		
Anne, 1702		

Empire.	*Papacy.*	
Matthias, 1612	Paul V., 1605	Clement IX., 1667
Ferdinand II., 1619	Gregory XV., 1621	Clement X., 1670
Ferdinand III., 1637	Urban VIII., 1623	Innocent XI., 1676
Leopold I., 1658	Innocent X., 1644	Alexander VIII., 1689
	Alexander VII., 1655	Clement XI., 1700

General Survey.—The chief lines of development during the first half of the seventeenth century were: (i) the Growth of Puritanism, and its effect upon English freedom, and (ii) the Struggle for Supremacy between King and Parliament.

These two movements were closely connected, not only with each other but with the events of the later Tudor period.

One of the first and most inevitable results of the repudiation of a central authority was the appearance within the State Church of certain sects, composed of those who, in former days, would have been called heretics, but who now, not unnaturally, claimed to think as they pleased on religious matters. Their beginnings are found among the " reformers " who had fled abroad in Mary's reign, and who had returned

in later days to find the religion established by Elizabeth, with its attempt to conserve much of the now unmeaning ritual and ceremonies of former days, very little to their liking. These " Puritans," who had learnt their Protestant principles from the school of Calvin, objected to any form of sacrament or symbol, such as the sign of the cross in baptism or the ring in marriage. Their one authority was the Bible, which each individual interpreted as he pleased. During the reign of Elizabeth their numbers increased very rapidly, especially among a certain section of the clergy, the small traders and farmer class. When Archbishop Whitgift, after 1583, tried to suppress them by force, they waged a " pamphlet war " by means of the " Martin Marprelate " tracts, violently attacking the episcopal system; and in consequence, many were exiled. Others, however, remained to foster the seed sown and to encourage the growth of a vigorous harvest during the period we are about to study.

By the end of the century we may distinguish at least two sects among the Puritans. The first was composed of Presbyterians, who wished to abolish bishops as well as all kinds of forms and ceremonies, but who were prepared to accept the idea of a State Church. The other, composed of Independents, would have nothing to do with the Church-and-State system, and maintained that a body of " believers " formed the only true Church. Both these parties identified themselves, during the seventeenth century, with a somewhat bigoted form of patriotism that was resolved to set up a form of self-government, both in Church and State, which repudiated all authority and which was worked on narrow republican lines. This was but another aspect of that spirit of Nationalism whose origin we have already seen. When the nation had lost the ideal of a Divine Church, expressed under the form of a supernatural kingdom ruled by the representative of Christ on earth, it had turned for a while to an exaggerated adoration of queen and country. But by this time a new generation had arisen which this did not satisfy. Patriotism was still strong, but, under the influence of the zeal for religious " freedom," it now took the form of a demand for self-government, in place of anything like autocratic rule. For, as Puritanism depended upon the principle that " the mind of man can alone deal directly with the mind of God," so in the political sphere, Puritans were eager to sweep away a king who stood as a

symbol of the Divine Right of ruling the realm of which they were citizens.

The forthcoming struggle was, it must be noted, not a conflict between the country as a whole and the Crown. The Stuart Parliaments represented only the strong middle-class element—the merchants of the town, the squires and farmers of the country, and a fairly large proportion of the new nobility of Tudor creation. The great bulk of the people—artisans and agriculturists—were still unheard.

The Pilgrim Fathers.—In the early years of the century, James, the first Stuart king, attempted to crush this new spirit of Puritanism by making matters so uneasy for the ministers of the sect that they, with their families and adherents, preferred to go into voluntary exile.

The result of one such incident must be recorded here, if only because it has given rise to much misconception and exaggeration.

The Pilgrim Fathers were a little band of "Separatists," who, hopeless of ever tolerating the views of the State Church or of obtaining toleration for their own extreme Puritan principles from the Stuart king, emigrated first to Leyden in Holland and then to America in 1620, in the *Mayflower*, and founded the New England States. That they did not do this in order to spread the idea of "freedom of religion" is clear from their further actions. Their own severe moral code was hedged about with the most stringent penalties, which perhaps were necessary in order to preserve a high standard of morality. But the early story of the colonists shows a record of heavy fines and floggings for such offences as "carrying a grist from the mill on the Sabbath day," or "attending assemblies tending to the subversion of religion," that reads like the horrors of a slave plantation in the worst days of slavery, rather than the story of the growth of religious freedom.

Moreover, the treatment by the Pilgrims of Quaker emigrants was "scarcely consistent with a lofty purpose of doing no violence to men's conscience."[1] For these honest and pious settlers were fined, whipped, and deported from the colony for the sole crime of refusing to take an "oath of fidelity" forbidden by their religion.

It is interesting also to note that, at a time when Jesuit missionaries were making the most heroic sacrifices for the

[1] Fr. Thurston, S.J., *The Pilgrim Fathers*.

conversion of the North American Indians, the Pilgrims report "until they [the Indians] be reduced to more civility, no great harvest is to be expected of real converts."

In later years, when time had somewhat softened the harsh intolerance of these years, the descendants of these men became the first colonists to rebel against the oppression of an English Government—the first to lay the foundation-stones of the United States of America—and in this way to claim a more real and legitimate freedom than their forefathers had exercised in matters of faith.

§ 1. **European Aspect.**—The coming contest between Puritans and Anglicans in England was foreshadowed by the events of the Europe of that day. There we find the House of Austria, representing the shadowy myth of the Holy Roman Empire, fighting in alliance with Spain, for the Faith, against a league of Protestant German States. France, an interested witness of the struggle, while persecuting the Protestant Huguenots in her own country, sent occasional support to the Protestants abroad, in order to maintain the Balance of Power. For her one aim during these years was to set up a strong and autocratic State, dependent on the will of the king; and it was the dread of this in England that accounts for much of the later history of this century.

Meantime, owing to her own industrial genius, Holland had annexed the commercial glory of Spain and the carrying trade of the ocean, and stood before Europe as an example of a small State that had achieved very remarkable worldly success, by throwing off both religious and political ties with Spain, and by setting up a republic.

These were some of the elements in the Thirty Years' War of Religion, which left most of Europe impoverished and well-nigh ruined. That England stood aloof from the actual conflict accounts for her rapid rise as a world power during this period.

§ 2. **The Religious Question and the Rights of Parliament.**—We have already seen that all the events of the first half of the century can be grouped round these two points—the question of the New Religion, and the rights of the New Parliament. At the commencement of the reign of James I., son of a Catholic mother, brought up by stern Scottish Presbyterians, and himself inclined to any form of religion that

would further his own autocratic designs, we find the existence of three main parties representing these different points of view.

There were the Catholics, sadly reduced by exile and persecution, but still clinging loyally both to the Faith and to the king. Deeply disappointed at the king's evident want of sympathy with their position, a small band of fanatics set on foot a plot to blow up king and parliament when they met in 1605. This plot was frustrated by the information of a Catholic, Lord Mounteagle, who had been warned to be absent, and it was denounced by the whole Catholic body. Yet it not only caused the immediate death of two devoted Jesuits, Fathers Garnet and Oldcorne, but became the excuse for most bitter persecution. This second era of Catholic oppression was marked by an Act which not merely fined a "recusant" a large sum of money every month for refusing to attend the Protestant communion service once a year, thereby ruining even the wealthiest among the Catholic gentry: it also deprived him of arms, in days when every gentleman carried sword and pistol; it banished him from London and from the district ten miles round, and hence from Parliament and from the chance of practising most of the professions.

Then there was the Anglican body, which upheld the English prayer-book and the ecclesiastical system of Elizabeth. This was the party which was to support James I. and Charles I. in their political views and to uphold the theory so dear to the Stuarts of the "Divine Right of Kings." In Catholic days, such a theory had been consistent with a scheme of government that depended upon respect for authority, especially when that authority lay in the hands of a monarch anointed by bishops who traced descent in unbroken line from apostolic times. Now it was explained by James himself in the following phrase: "Although a good king will frame his actions to be according to law, yet he is not bound thereto but of his own free will and for example-giving to his subjects." This was the version that the Reformation idea of freedom—for the king as well as his subjects—had imposed upon the mediæval idea of kingship.

To carry out this theory the first Stuart kings depended almost entirely on the influence of the bishops, and "No Bishop, no King," was the pithy answer of James when approached by the Scottish Presbyterians. It was this "Anglican" party that now began to claim a kind of continuity with

the Catholic Church, and under the influence of William Laud, Bishop of London, and after 1638 Archbishop of Canterbury, strove to set up an ecclesiastical ideal based in many respects very closely upon the Catholic system. One fact out of many disposed of Laud's claim that the Anglican Church was Catholic in her doctrines, her services, her ritual: from the year 1610, when the panic occasioned by the Gunpowder Plot had died down, to the year 1646, which was practically the end of the reign of Charles I., no fewer than thirty-four priests were executed for that central and essential act of Catholicism, the saying of Mass.

Lastly, we find the Puritan party, soaked with the religious ideas of Calvin, which rejected Sacraments and symbols, and well represented the spirit of the age. For it firmly believed that the purpose of the soul's creation was, not to glorify God, but to be lost, and then saved by an act of grace that gave to it a peculiar value, and made it superior to all those who did not belong to its own peculiar sect. The result was a loss of the sense of authority that caused the Puritans to rebel against the royal power in politics and an episcopal system in Church government, as their forefathers had rebelled against papal supremacy. It led also to a demand for self-government on parliamentary lines. For the parliaments of that day, as we saw, were largely composed of the squires and middle-class merchants, who made up the bulk of the Puritan party; hence parliamentary rule meant a Puritan form of government for both Church and State.

This was the party that, promptly on the accession of James I., pressed its demand for such alterations in the Anglican Church system as would give a share of its management to those Puritans who had withdrawn themselves from it during the last reign. James, however, paid little heed to this "Millenary Petition," and the only outcome of the conference held at Hampton Court between bishops and Puritan ministers (1604) was a new translation of the Bible ("Authorized version"). From that time the Bible took the place of the Church in the religion of Protestantism, which, far from becoming "free," substituted the tyranny of a printed page for the voice of universal Christendom. "Its private study involved its private interpretation. Every reader, even if a Churchman, became in some sort a Church to himself."[1]

[1] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*.

§ 3. **The Rights of Parliament.**—From this time the Puritan party, representing the powerful middle-class population of England, and led by a few men of great determination and strength of character, began the fight for the rights of Parliament, which, as we have seen, was closely interwoven with their religious ideas concerning the right of the individual soul to worship in the way it pleased.

The actual details of the struggle may be very briefly sketched.

The two main questions in dispute were: (1) the freedom of Parliament to act independently of the king; (2) the freedom of the king to act, especially in the matter of raising taxes, independently of Parliament.

Out of these arose a series of minor contests, growing gradually in force till they culminated in the test case of Hampden, and its result, the Civil War. Thus we find James, in 1604, soon after his accession, claiming his Divine Right to declare " null and void " the election of a member of Parliament, named Goodwin. To which the Parliament replied that if he thought he had any such right in England he had been " gravely misinformed."

Again, when the king tried to insist upon the Union of England and Scotland, a really statesmanlike measure, Parliament, jealous of the crowd of Scottish favourites at the Court, refused any closer union than that implied by the dropping of the term " alien " to one born in Scotland after 1608.

In 1606 the finance question came to the fore. Since the *Confirmatio Cartarum* of 1297 it had been enacted many times that no taxes could be levied without consent of Parliament. On special occasions, however, the Tudor kings had increased the royal revenue—drawn, in the ordinary way, mainly from customs duties (" tonnage and poundage ")—in various other ways. When James followed their example by imposing a tax on currants, and on certain other articles, a merchant named Bates refused to pay. Judges of the King's Bench gave verdict against the man, but James's victory only established what was to be a constant point of contention. After sitting for seven years, his first Parliament was dissolved in a spirit of distinct disloyalty and ill-will (1611).

Meantime the Court, outside the Puritan faction, and the new nobility which had purchased titles from the needy king,

were setting an example of luxury and extravagance that obliged James to impose new taxes and to raise money in every possible way. But when some of his Court party (*the Undertakers*) undertook, in 1614, to persuade the new Parliament to make a liberal grant, the members in reply began to discuss finance in a very hostile spirit. In consequence, this, the *Addled Parliament*, was dissolved within three weeks.

For the next seven years James ruled as an absolute king, calling no Parliaments, but raising money as well as he could by "benevolences," or gifts to the Crown, and by new "impositions," and falling more and more under the evil influence of his favourite Buckingham. One of his chief aims, at this time, was to secure an alliance with Spain by means of a marriage between his son and the Spanish princess, an alliance which would mean toleration for the Catholic party and possibly a Catholic succession; though all that the king had in view was the removal of the still-dreaded Spanish hostility. Meantime his son-in-law Frederic, a petty German prince, had joined the Bohemians in their struggle with the Emperor as the leader of the Protestant League. The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War brought Spain out in force against him, and the aid of England was earnestly invoked on the side of Frederic.

To this the king, unwilling to give up the Spanish marriage, replied by a vague promise. In either case money must be raised, and a third Parliament was called for this purpose in 1621.

This Parliament began by a violent attack upon the royal methods of money-making, especially the system of "monopolies"—that is, the sole right of selling certain goods. These were abolished, and forthwith the members turned their energies in a new direction. The judges of that day were notorious for accepting bribes from suitors in their courts; one of them, Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, had also taken a prominent part in the enforcement of monopolies. This had earned for him the hatred of the merchants, who suffered most from the system, but he was rightly deprived of his office on a charge of corruption, and made the scapegoat of an evil system, which had come to mean that "justice" could be bought by him who could pay the highest price. When the members proceeded to urge their right, as a matter of public interest, to debate the

question of aiding foreign combatants, Parliament was dissolved.

The Parliaments of Charles I.—The relations between the next king and the Commons were those of almost open enmity. Between 1625 and 1628, the first three years of the reign, Charles called three Parliaments, of which the first granted him " tonnage and poundage " for one year only; the second, led by Sir John Eliot, Vice-Admiral of Devon, impeached Buckingham, and demanded that he be dismissed " as an enemy of Church and State;" the third refused absolutely to grant finances unless the king would sign a Petition of Right.

This Petition declared various royal acts illegal, such as forced loans, benevolences, imprisonment at the royal will alone, and martial law in time of peace. The king signed, but, with the fatal idea that " divinely appointed " kings were not bound to keep faith with subjects, proceeded to levy tonnage without the parliamentary grant.

This gave the Commons the chance of taking the further step of attacking, not only this point, but " innovations " in religion; by which they meant the attempts of Laud, then Bishop of London, to restore some kind of order and reverence into the Protestant services. The Puritans were strongly represented, and while two of them held down the Speaker when he vainly tried to adjourn the House, Eliot got passed, amid shouts of joy, his declaration that " those who introduced changes into religion, paid tonnage and poundage, or exacted it, were public enemies."

Eliot was tried for this on a charge of sedition by obsequious judges in the King's Court, and, refusing to acknowledge their judgment, was thrown into prison. There he died three years later, the first martyr in the cause of rebellion against political tyranny.

For the next eleven years (1629–1640) the rising storm was lulled. During this time Charles ruled as an absolute monarch, under the influence of two remarkable men, Laud, made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford.

The aim of Laud during these years was to insist upon a rigid uniformity in a Church which, having lost the idea of authority, could scarcely be expected to obey. He was a conscientious man, rightly shocked at the irreverence and slackness that had invaded the churches; but even if he

realized that this was the necessary result of years of neglect and indifference, he was not wideminded enough to see the only remedy. He insisted that the Book of Common Prayer, with its vague and contradictory teaching, must be enforced everywhere; if necessary, by means of those Tudor organs of law and order, the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court. The result was that these, which had been accepted as a matter of course under Elizabeth, became the chief causes of the downfall of the Crown.

Not content with attempting to force his views upon a nation hopelessly divided in religion, Laud next determined, with the warm approval of Charles, to force episcopacy on Scotland. But there the Presbyterian spirit was far too strong for him to attain his very partial success in England. He was at once accused, quite wrongly, of working for a return to Rome. Within a few weeks the *National Covenant* pledged the Scots to resist "innovations and popery." Immediately there broke out the so-called "Bishops'" Wars (1639–1640), during which a Scottish army lay on the border, blockaded by English troops so openly in sympathy with the foe that a truce, called the "Pacification of Berwick," was forced upon the king. More important is the fact that the calling of Parliament (*Short Parliament*, 1640) ended the period of royal absolutism, and that from henceforth the two questions of religion and popular government became still more closely intertwined.

The other adviser of the king during these years was Wentworth, once an ardent "Parliament man" in the days when Buckingham held the royal ear. But when that fatally mischievous personality had been removed by assassination in 1628, Wentworth went over to the king's side, convinced that the ideal form of government was not by means of an "ill-informed Parliament," but "by the advice of a few well-informed ministers." Henceforth, his devotion and loyalty were unsparing, and both were to cost him dear. "You have left us, Sir Thomas," one of the angry Puritans had cried when he left their side of the House, "but we will never leave you while you have a head on your shoulders."

§ 4. **The "Thorough" Reforms.**—His plan, known as *Thorough*, was to make the king's will absolute in every part of his domain, by enforcing a system of discipline so rigid that it was bound to quell all revolt. As President of the

North he was very fairly successful in bringing some sort of ordered prosperity into a part of England harried by five centuries of border warfare. As Lord Deputy of Ireland, he had a harder task. There the "plantation of Ulster," by means of which James I. had, in shortsighted policy, settled Lowland Scottish emigrants, hostile in race and religion, on Irish soil, had deeply moved a land seething with bitterness and rebellion, racked with poverty, torn by disorders of every kind. With this distressful country Wentworth dealt with firm but unyielding hand. "Where," he says himself, "I found a Church, a Crown, and a people spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them with gracious smiles and gentle looks. It would cost warmer water than so."

Many of his reforms were excellent. He drove pirates from the coast; he planted flax and showed the Irishwomen how to weave linen; he turned the loafers into smart soldiers, built schools, and opened up new lines of industry and trade. But he made the fatal mistake of not trying to understand a nation thoroughly Catholic at heart, and by his attempt to "reform" their religious system he earned the hatred of the Irish.

In 1640 the crisis in Scotland summoned Wentworth, now Lord Strafford, to the king's side; and it was he who advised the calling of the *Short Parliament*, which chose to consider grievances rather than make grants of money wherewith to fight the Scots, and was dissolved at once.

Strafford now urged strong measures against Scotland. "You have an army in Ireland," he is reported to have said, "which you may employ to reduce this kingdom." Whether he meant England or Scotland is not certain, but the phrase was to cost him his life. For all England was overjoyed at the Scottish invasion, and the parliamentary leaders were already in league with the army. "Thorough," as a system, had failed, and Charles, without money, and still hoping for a compromise with the nation, had perforce to call the *Long Parliament*. This sat for twenty years, with certain significant intervals, and was destined to make history of a very startling kind.

§ 5. **The Long Parliament,** 1640–1660.—The temper of the members, when they met that November, was ominous. For the nation, during these last years, had been irritated by a new tax called Ship-money, actually an old tax levied in time of war to maintain a naval force for the protection of trade.

This had now been revived in time of peace, on the principle that since trade concerned all, its protection should be paid for by all. Pirates, it is true, still infested the Channel, but the inland counties, which had never paid it before, now resisted its payment strenuously. A country gentleman, John Hampden, made it a "test case" by his refusal, arguing that "if the king could lay taxes as he pleased, no man could call anything his own." The king's counsel replied that the "right was innate in the person of an absolute king and in the persons of the Kings of England." By a narrow majority Hampden lost his case, and from that moment the nature of the future struggle was settled.

The Long Parliament at first intended merely to destroy despotism, and to safeguard the country against the tyranny of the Crown. To do this effectively, Strafford and Laud must go, since they were the instruments of the royal autocracy. Within a week Strafford was impeached and imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of high treason. It was difficult, however, to prove this in face of the fact that two entirely different theories of government were in question. If the royal ideal was right, Strafford was a faithful and zealous servant; if that of Parliament, his conduct might possibly be construed into an attack on the Constitution. Impatient of delay, the Commons brought in a *Bill of Attainder*, by which he could be condemned as a "public enemy" without trial. To this the king's assent was necessary, and his servant, trusting him wholly, had little fear. But the clamour of a London mob, thirsty for blood, the veiled threats of Pym and his Parliament men, and the weak surrender of the House of Lords, all helped to shake the king's nerve. He signed the deed, and Strafford, walking to the scaffold "with the step and manner of a general marching at the head of his army," met his end with courage on Tower Hill.

Four years later, Archbishop Laud, the second victim of a fatal devotion to the cause of a Stuart king, was executed, after a long imprisonment in the Tower.

Meantime, there had been a split in the popular party. An attempt to bring in a *Root and Branch Bill* to abolish episcopacy and sweep the bishops from existence, had caused the more moderate-minded members, under such men as Lord Falkland and Lord Hyde, to unite in defence of Anglicanism against the party led by Cromwell and Sir Harry Vane. The

settlement of the religious question by force became more than a possibility when the Commons demanded the placing of the military forces " in safe hands," and when it was openly conjectured that the king had gone to Scotland in the hope of gaining military support.

At this crisis a grave rebellion in Ireland, the result of Strafford's mistaken policy of iron repression, raised the question as to which side was to control the army sent for its subdual. And meantime a discussion was raging in the Commons over the *Grand Remonstrance*, a review of all the grievances of the reign, for which blame was freely laid upon the Catholics, the bishops, " and other evil counsellors." Its real aim was made clear by the programme drawn up for the future—" to reduce within bounds the exorbitant power of prelates," by depriving them of their votes in Parliament, to remove " oppressions in religion," and to prohibit " unnecessary ceremonies whereby divers weak consciences had been scrupled." By publishing this document the Commons appealed to the nation against the Crown.

Moved by his devotion to the Anglican Church, against which all this was aimed, Charles took the step of ordering the arrest of Pym and four other members for treason. But the Londoners refused to give them up, Charles was openly defied, and both sides now realized that this was the signal for warfare.

Early in 1642 the manifestos of king and Parliament showed the position of affairs. The king, taking his stand on " Divine Right," would not " give up the power he was born into," would not be " swaggered into any more concessions." The Church was to remain untouched by Puritan hands.

The Commons, on their side, defined the royal office as that of a trustee, not a despot, declaring that " the judgment of Parliament is the king's judgment, though the king in his person be neither present nor assenting thereto."

§ 6. **The Civil War,** 1642–1648.—The result of this uncompromising attitude was a civil war which was at once a war of religion and a struggle for political freedom. This accounts for the zest, the bitterness, and the ruthlessness with which it was waged. There were three main bodies of combatants: the Cavaliers, bound to the king by loyalty to his person and by devotion to the Anglican Church; the " Constitutionals," such as Falkland, who were Churchmen, and so eventually

ENGLAND and WALES during the CIVIL WAR. Dec: 1643.
Districts held by King
by Parliament
Dunbar
Philiphaugh
Newcastle
Carlisle
Durham
Marston Moor
York
Preston
Leeds
Lincoln
Winceby
Newark
Chester
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Leicester
Norwich
Naseby
Helmby Hs
Ludlow
Edge Hill
Cropredy Br.
Pembroke
Oxford
Chalgrove Fld.
Gloucester
London
Reading
Newbury
Maidstone
Canterbury
Dover
Winchester
Arundel
Chichester
Exeter
Bridgock Down
Plymouth
Carisbrooke
0 20 40 60 80
English Miles

ENGLAND and WALES during the CIVIL WAR. Nov: 1644.
Districts held by King
by Parliament
Dunbar
Philiphaugh
Newcastle
Carlisle
Durham
Bolton Castle
Marston Moor
York
Bolton Abbey
Preston
Lincoln
Winceby
Newark
Chester
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Leicester
Norwich
Ludlow
Warwick
Naseby
Helmby Hg
Worcester
Edge Hill
Pembroke
Oxford
Chalgrove Fd.
Gloucester
London
Bristol
Newbury
Maidstone
Canterbury
Dover
Roundway Down
Winchester
Arundel
Chichester
DEVON
CORNWALL
Exeter
Southampton
Berrock Down
mouth
Carisbrooke
0 20 40 60 80
English Miles

fought on the royalist side, though up to the year 1641 they had opposed the king's claims to be absolute and tried for a compromise; and the Roundheads, or Puritans, determined to abolish the English Church system, and to control religious as well as political affairs.

Speaking generally, the gentry and peasants of the thinly populated districts of the North and West were Royalists, while the Londoners and the wealthy citizens of the larger cities of the South and East were Parliamentarians. These last held the seaports and the navy, but their army was, as Cromwell afterwards declared, "full of old decayed servingmen and tapsters . . . base and mean fellows," or was made up of raw recruits; while the Royalists, "gentlemen of quality, . . . men of spirit," held the advantage of cavalry over infantry. The latter were led by a daring and reckless young general, Prince Rupert, nephew to the king; the former by the Earl of Essex, a dull and uninspiring person, without any of the qualities of a leader of men.

Till the year 1644 the advantage was, on the whole, with the king. The indecisive conflict at *Edgehill*, the death of Hampden in the skirmish at *Chalgrove Field*, the Roundhead defeats at *Lansdown* and *Roundaway Down* by Sir Ralph Hopton, kept Oxford and the West Country, all save Gloucester and some southern ports, secure for Charles. The skilful winning of the North Country, with the exception of Hull, left the Royalists at this moment in a position to take London by storm, which might have been done had it not been for the appearance of a new personality upon the scene of war.

For the last few months a rugged farmer, member of Parliament for Huntingdon, named Oliver Cromwell, had been training an army of Puritans from the Eastern Counties; and these men, his "Ironsides," were about to change the fortunes of war. At the same time, the remnant of the Parliament, now mostly Presbyterian, made a *Solemn League and Covenant* with the Scots, binding themselves to establish the Presbyterian religion in England in return for aid in the war. In 1644, the joining of the Scottish army with the troops stationed at Hull, and with those of Cromwell's army of Ironsides from the Eastern Counties, made an overwhelming force against Prince Rupert, who was attempting with some success to relieve York. The battle of *Marston Moor* which followed

was a tremendous victory for the Parliamentarians, and meant the loss of the North Country to Charles.

Still, however, there was hope for the king, since the greater part of the Roundhead army remained inefficient, under disunited and wavering leaders. In 1645, however, while busy organizing his "New Model" army, Cromwell prevailed on Parliament to pass a *Self-denying Ordinance*, which excluded all members of the House from command, with the exception of himself; and he, with Fairfax, took over military control. Within a few weeks the decisive battle of *Naseby* (1645) had scattered the Royalist army, and Charles was fleeing as a fugitive to the West. In this battle the king's private papers fell into the hands of his enemies. From these they learnt that he proposed to repeal the penal laws against Catholics, and to bring in Irish and foreign troops to his aid. Either of these measures ranked as an unforgivable crime in the eyes of the Puritan party, and from that moment his cause was lost.

Much had been hoped from the Royalist party in Scotland, where the gallant Earl of Montrose had won a brilliant victory over the Covenanters at *Tippermuir* in the previous year (1644). But at this fatal crisis, Montrose had been surprised and defeated at *Philiphaugh*, and the cause of Charles was lost in Scotland.

His one hope now lay in the disunion between the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Independents, the sect to which most of Cromwell's "New Model" soldiers belonged. From this time, indeed, the Presbyterians represent the *Parliamentary party* in both countries, and the Independents the *Military party*, which intended to control the situation by force. In 1646 Charles gave himself up to the Scottish army at Newark, and there, whilst practically a prisoner, received the compromise offered by the Parliamentary Commissioners. While retaining all the governing power with control of army and navy, these demanded that Charles should accept the Covenant, permit it to be enforced on the nation, and allow the Church of England to be modelled on that basis, with the most stringent laws against all "recusants." Had the king accepted these terms he would undoubtedly have won the support of the Scots, although he would have been king but in name. Even the Catholic queen, Henrietta, thinking "one heretic as bad as another," begged him to throw over the

Church of England. But the king, although he gave evasive replies, stood firm, and was at length handed over to the English Parliament in return for a large sum for arrears of payment for the Scottish army.

From his prisons at Holmby House, at Hampton Court, and at Carisbrooke, Charles now carried on a fatal policy of intrigue, in the hope of profiting by the rupture between Presbyterian Parliamentarians and the Independent army. There was also a split in the ranks of the latter, since democratic "Levellers," or socialists, thirsted for the life of the "Man of Blood," and Cromwell and his friends hoped for the restoration of a monarch strictly under the control of Parliament. "Toleration" for the Presbyterians was actually offered by Charles and then expressly repudiated a month later in his dealings with their opponents. The country, as a whole, weary of dissensions and longing for the old days of peace and stability, became restless, and Royalist risings took place in Wales and in Kent.

Then the Scots rose on the king's behalf, and were dealt with by Cromwell at *Preston* in the only important battle of this second civil war. From that time the king's doom was sealed.

All this time Charles had hoped for foreign aid, a hope which the Thirty Years' War, still raging in Europe, had frustrated. But when that war drew to its close, the enemies of the king knew that if they wanted to exclude the possibility of intervention on his behalf from France and Holland, they must strike, and strike quickly. When the more moderate members of the Commons still hesitated to go to extremes, they were prevented from entering the House by armed troops under Colonel Pride (*Pride's Purge*, 1647). When Charles refused even to consider proposals that reduced his position to that of a President of a Republic, or a "Doge" of Venice, the military party, under the control of Cromwell, urged that the whole matter be settled by the execution of the king.

The trial of Charles I. was a farce from first to last, for the issue of it had been decided beforehand. The House of Lords refused to take any part in it, and sentence was passed by a small and quite unrepresentative remnant of the Commons.

On January 30, 1649, the king was beheaded on a scaffold outside the window of the Banqueting Room of the Palace of

Whitehall, a victim to religious intolerance and political narrowness, but also to his own incapacity to rule and fatal inability to deal straightforwardly.

§ 7. **Position of Catholics under the Early Stuart Kings.**—A curious commentary may be found on the claim that, after the Tudor upheaval, the English Church, save for the acknowledgment of papal supremacy, returned to her allegiance to Catholicism—an allegiance which she had never really lost. If this were really the case, it would be difficult indeed to account, not only for the outburst of fury marked by the penal laws of James against those whose only crime was their loyalty to the Catholic Faith, but also for the line taken by Charles I., himself an avowed High Churchman or, according to present-day ideas, an "Anglo-Catholic." His marriage with the Catholic princess, Henrietta of France, had been preceded by his promise "on the word of a king" that all loyal Catholic subjects "should not be disquieted for their religion in person or property." Yet in the first year of his reign, in response to a complaint made by Eliot in the House of Commons that Catholics were openly attending Mass at the embassy chapels, a new activity of persecution was set on foot by the king; and two men—a layman, Richard Herst, and a Jesuit, Father Arrowsmith—were martyred.

The machinery of persecution was almost invariably the *Oath of Allegiance* drawn up in 1606, an oath which, while the greater part of it could be taken by any loyal Catholic, contained clauses which denied the Pope's power to depose an excommunicate prince, and declared that, if called upon to choose between loyalty to the king or to the Pope, the former was to be preferred. Though most Catholics refused to bind themselves by such an oath, there is ample proof that the little band who kept the true Faith were not only loyal citizens but were anxious to support their king in his struggle with the Puritans. Not that Charles himself was really a zealous persecutor. Indeed, under the influence of his queen, the anti-Catholic proclamations were watered down into one forbidding them to attend Mass publicly. But it only needed an outcry from Parliament, on the suspicion of a charge that he was "favouring Papists," for the king to sign the death-warrants of priests whose only crime, as he well knew, was their reconciling converts to a Church to which he himself claimed to belong.

Yet when the Civil War broke out it was the Catholics

who rallied to a man under the royal banner, who died for him in battle, or who forfeited their estates in the king's cause; and the very fact of the furious outburst of Puritan persecution, under the Commonwealth, against those now called not only Papists but "malignants"—the term given to all Royalists—proves that they were never found lacking in loyalty to the Crown.

EXERCISES

1. Show the close connection between the struggle for "Freedom of religion" and for the "Rights of Parliament."
2. Characterize briefly the three religious parties found in the Early Stuart Period.
3. What were the main points in dispute in the contest for "Parliamentary Rights"?
4. Show the part played in the struggle by Laud, Wentworth, Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell.
5. Show the part played by Scotland in the Civil War.
6. Account for the position of Catholics in these years (1600–1650).

CHAPTER XIV

CAVALIERS AND ROUNDHEADS—THE LATTER HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (1650–1700)

General Survey.—For the ten years that followed the downfall of the kingship, England was in the hands of the Independent party, with Cromwell at its head, and the army behind it. It was, as might be expected, a period of indescribable confusion. There still existed a large Royalist faction, staunch to the principles of Anglicanism and faithful to the royal cause, but without a leader or a programme. There was also a fairly numerous party of Presbyterians, who disapproved both of the king's execution and of the proceedings of the Independents. The latter were quite in the minority in the House of Commons, but they had a military genius at their head.

It is a curious fact that this man, Oliver Cromwell, whose ideal was the establishment of peace, order, and toleration under a constitutional system represented by a Commonwealth, was to see the land rent by political and religious

strife, and himself be forced to play the part of a despot far more absolute than the unhappy Charles, since he was to rule by the power of the sword alone.

His military skill was quickly proved when, in the dark period of 1649, the office of king and the House of Lords having both been abolished, and a Commonwealth, managed by the remnant—or Rump—of a Parliament, established, he was faced with Royalist revolts in Ireland, Scotland, and the North.

§ 1. **The "Settlement" of Ireland,** 1649.—In Ireland, ever since the recall of Strafford, the demands of Irish Catholics for "Home Rule" and separation from England, and the determination of Royalist noblemen, such as Ormond, to support the cause of the young Prince Charles, combined to stir up a very determined effort at revolt. By the time, however, that Cromwell's army appeared on the scene, the usual disunion had arisen; neither money nor food had been forthcoming, and the country fell an easy prey into his hands. Drogheda was stormed, and on the pretext that it had been closely concerned in a so-called "massacre" of colonists at the commencement of the Civil War, the town was sacked, and its garrison put to the sword, together with every Catholic priest and many others within the walls. Wexford shared her fate, and, early in 1650, the "Settlement of Ireland" was afoot. Briefly stated, this drove the Irish into the province of Connaught, confiscated their lands and gave these as payment to the army which had been engaged in the "conquest." As a matter of fact, the natives refused to move. Some were hanged as examples to the rest, crowds were shipped off to the Indies as slaves, others remained, vagrants and outcasts, in a ruined country of which two-thirds had been handed over to their English conquerors.

§ 2. **Royalists in Scotland.**—Meantime, in Scotland, Prince Charles, finding that the Royalist Montrose had failed in his attempt to aid him, and had paid for that failure on the scaffold, threw himself upon the mercy of the Covenanters. These strongly disapproved of an English Republic ruled by Independents, and Charles, untroubled by the religious scruples of his father, promised to support Presbyterianism if they would proclaim him king. Forthwith the army of the Covenant, that had taken arms against Charles I., now went out to support the cause of his son, and presently had the

English troops, under Cromwell, shut in among the hills of *Dunbar*. The fate of the latter seemed certain; but the rashness of the Scots led them to leave their post of vantage on the heights, in order to close with their foes. It was a fatal step, and ere nightfall the power of the Presbyterian Scots was broken (1650).

One more attempt was made, this time by the loyal Highlanders who had fought under Montrose, to join the English Royalists and to make Charles King of England by force of arms. But the North of England, worn out and dazed by recent oppression, remained passive; and at *Worcester* Cromwell won the "crowning victory" that sent Charles into exile and crushed the Royalists for the next nine years.

§ 3. **The Period of Experimental Rule.**—This period was naturally one of experiment and unrest, for the nation was hopelessly disunited, and the main forces at work were entirely antagonistic.

As a whole, the country dreaded and disliked both military control and the arbitrary rule of the small and unrepresentative "Rump" Parliament. Cromwell, the one "strong man" of the time, was himself theoretically in favour of constitutional government, and it was he who cleared the House when the "Rump" tried to bring in an Act to prolong its existence. "We have had enough of this. I will put an end to it. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." In practice, they were the words of a despot, and as a despot, with the power of the army behind him, he actually ruled. As "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth," with the help of a Council of State, with a standing army and a fixed income for its maintenance, he wielded a power that no Stuart king had enjoyed; but he, who had fought for the rights of Parliament against the claims of an "absolute" monarch, failed altogether in his attempts to rule by means of a Parliament. For more than a year (1655–1656) England was governed by military authority, responsible to him alone.

Again, as regards the religious question, his theory was for "liberty of conscience." But in practice this liberty was entirely withheld from "Popery and Prelacy," which terms covered the faith, not only of Catholics, but of the greater part of the nation.

As a politician, we find him attempting to incorporate England, Ireland, and Scotland into one solid State, repre-

sented by one Parliament sitting at Westminster; an ideal which in the condition to which he had reduced both Ireland and Scotland, crushed for the moment, but full of zeal for emancipation and revenge, was a practical impossibility.

§ 4. **Foreign Policy of Cromwell.**—In one respect alone, that of his foreign policy, was Cromwell successful. Even if he did not carry out his aim of "setting England at the head of the Protestant cause in Europe," he definitely extended her Colonial Empire, and established her as Mistress of the Seas by his dealings with Holland.

For it was at this little country, which during these troubled years had managed to get hold of the carrying trade of Europe, as well as of vast commerce and a fine fleet, that Cromwell struck by his *Navigation Act* of 1651. The excuse was the support given to the Stuart cause by William the Dutch Stadtholder, who had married the Stuart Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I. The Act itself required English goods to be exported and imported in English vessels, which blow at their control of the seas caused the Dutch to retaliate by attempting to stop England's Baltic trade, and refusing to salute her flag on the narrow seas.

This led to the *Dutch War* (1652–1654), during which the Dutchman Van Tromp actually defeated Admiral Blake in the Thames and sailed the Channel with a broomstick at his mast, to show that he had swept the English from the ocean. A year later, however, the Dutch met with three naval defeats; and in 1654, by the *Treaty of Westminster*, they gave up the Stuart cause and acknowledged England as Mistress of the Seas.

Nearer to the heart of Cromwell was the involved struggle between France and Spain and the question as to how his intervention would affect his country. In France the Huguenots in revolt had allied themselves with Spain, and, according to his religious principles, Cromwell should have thrown in his lot with them. But their alliance with a Catholic country made him hesitate long enough to enable him to name a price for his support—free trade in the Spanish-American seas and freedom of religion for Englishmen in Spanish ports.

The refusal of Spain was the signal for him to throw over the Huguenot cause and to send a party of "buccaneers," under Penn and Venables, to assert England's "rights" in

the West Indies. The only achievement of the expedition was the capture of *Jamaica* (1655), but this gave England a most valuable foothold in that region.

Meantime, in Europe, his policy vacillated between giving aid to the heretic Vaudois of Piedmont and making alliance with Catholic France. His aim in the latter was to obtain Dunkirk, when French and English forces had captured it from Spain, and this came to pass after the *Battle of the Dunes* in 1658, which forced Spain to end the war, leaving France the most important power in Europe.

§ 5. **Fall of the Commonwealth.**—Meantime the unrest in England was growing to a head. Royalists were rising, here and there, and English judges were asking upon what authority the "rebels" were to be condemned. Others were refusing to pay taxes and questioning the Protector's right to levy them. Underneath the surface a strong movement for the restoration of a monarchy was upheaving the whole country.

An "experimental Parliament," in reality a packed house of Cromwell's followers, had met together (1656) to present a *Humble Petition and Advice*, which suggested that the Protector should take the title of king, and that a freely elected House of Commons should meet, together with a House of Lords nominated by him. But though he hesitated with reluctance, he knew too well the offence that his acceptance of the title would give to the army, so "the lawyers who had boasted that they would make penknives of the soldiers' swords, hung their heads in sullen defeat."

When this Parliament met again in 1658 marked changes had come about. The army was intriguing with the members for control of taxation and the limitation of the Protector's power, and when to this was added a rumour that both factions were in favour of the return of Charles Stuart, it was promptly dissolved.

In the September of that year the death of the Protector left a nation, seething with discontent, to the rule of his son Richard, a mild yeoman with no personality, and no hold whatever over the army. A strong reaction now set in against military rule, and when Richard hastened to resign his impossible position the way lay open for the restoration of the monarchy.

From Scotland the trend of affairs had been watched by

the keen yet cautious eyes of General Monk, who now determined to employ the Roundhead army, which he commanded, for the Stuart cause. Marching upon London, he forcibly restored the Presbyterian members of the Long Parliament, who had been expelled by "Pride's Purge." These men had always hated both republican government and military rule, and they now formed a *Convention Parliament,* in which sat several royalists. This recalled Charles Stuart, on his promise in the *Declaration of Breda* that he would offer a general pardon, "satisfaction for the army, and liberty for tender consciences."

§ 6. **General Survey after the Restoration.**—The last forty years of the seventeenth century are marked by certain violent political and religious upheavals.

The reign of Charles II. was to see a strong reaction against the Puritans, followed by an equally strong reaction against the Catholics; and religious and political questions became once more so closely connected as to cause the division of the nation into two great parties, the Whigs and Tories, representing the extreme Protestant and Puritan on the one hand, and the High Churchman and Cavalier on the other.

Then came a feverish panic at the idea of the restoration of the Catholic Church by James II.; and this culminated in a "Protestant Revolution" which united Puritan and Cavalier, Protestant and Anglican, in a successful attempt to drive the king from his throne. After this came the "stop-gap" reigns of William and Mary, the Dutch Stadtholder and the Stuart princess, and of Anne, last of the Stuarts to rule. Then came a change of dynasty dictated by the desire of the Whigs to secure a Protestant succession.

§ 7. **The Work of Lord Clarendon.**—Taking a brief survey of the years 1660–1685, a period of no great importance in political history, though of interest from the religious and social points of view, we see that the first seven years (1660–1667) was a time of attempted settlement under the influence of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor. Confiscated property was returned to Royalist owners, the army was disbanded, and an old source of dispute was settled by the substitution of a fixed revenue for the feudal dues claimed by the king. The main point, that of religion, was left untouched till 1661, for Charles, caring little for any

religious principle in those days, was not minded to risk his popularity by taking a definite line.

Meantime the Cavalier Parliament (1661–1679), which was to sit for the greater part of his reign, was almost entirely swayed by the policy of Clarendon. In former days he had led those who wished for constitutional government against the royal autocracy; but later on, when the Puritans showed their aim was to abolish the Church of England, he joined the side of Charles and remained his faithful adviser. By the marriage of his daughter Anne to James, Duke of York, the king's brother, he was closely connected with the royal household, and in future days his two granddaughters, Mary Stuart, wife of William of Orange, and Anne, were to be queens of England.

The policy of this man was to make peace with the nation by keeping the balance equal between the royal and the parliamentary powers, and, meantime, to restore and strengthen the position of the Anglican Church by a series of heavy blows at those who held any other form of faith. The Code known by his name consists of four Acts, aimed as much at Catholics as at Puritan Nonconformists.

The Corporation Act (1661) required all members of corporations, such as mayors and aldermen, to take Communion according to the English prayer-book, to renounce the Covenant, and to take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.

The *Conventicle Act* (1664) forbade, under heavy penalties of fines and transportation, any assembly of more than five persons for religious services save according to those of the prayer-book.

The Five Mile Act forbade any "minister or teacher" who had refused the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to come within five miles of an important town.

An earlier Act of 1662, that of *Uniformity*, which excluded from Anglican parishes those ministers who refused to be "ordained," to give up the Covenant, or to use the English prayer-book, was more justifiable than these, for it was but fair that the ministers ejected by Cromwell should now be restored to their former positions. But the harshness with which the measure was carried out, on that day of "Black Bartholomew," 1662, made a deep gulf between the Establishment and Nonconformity which has never been entirely bridged.

The first three Acts, it need scarcely be said, were a flagrant violation of the promise of toleration to both Puritans and Catholics. The king himself had declared, at the end of the year 1662, that " the Roman Catholic subjects have deserved well of us . . . in adhering to us with their lives and fortunes for the maintenance of our crown." They, at any rate, had not made their faith a pretext for revolt against the kingship as the Puritans had done; but for them there was still no shadow of justice. Even when Charles, son of a Catholic mother and inclined even then towards her faith, found a strong party in the House ready to support his wish for liberty of conscience, we read that " Chancellor Hyde was so hot upon that point that His Majesty was obliged to yield rather to his importunity than to his reasons."

Thus, even in years when the temper of the nation was anti-puritan rather than anti-papist, it only needed a sudden crisis, such as the Great Fire of 1666, to send rumours of a papist plot to destroy London buzzing throughout the land. The lie was even perpetuated by an inscription on the Monument recording the fact. But worse was yet to come.

Meantime, however, the intolerant policy of Clarendon had been ended by his fall from power. He had never been popular, and now certain actions of the king, which had caused deep discontent in the nation, were laid at his door.

To understand these, as well as the many other features of this restless period, it must be remembered that the ruler of France was then *le Grand Monarque*, Louis XIV., whose aim was to establish an absolute monarchy, founded on European conquests. These were to make France supreme over the two powers that " counted " most—Spain and Holland. Hence the foreign policy of England was concerned with the problem of war against Holland in support of France, or alliance with Holland against Louis. Home politics were much affected also by the expectation that Charles would follow the example of Louis and govern as an absolute king.

The marriage of Charles with Catherine of Braganza, princess of Portugal, then in alliance with France against Spain, turned the scale on the side of Louis, who cemented the alliance by purchasing Dunkirk from the ever-needy king. Moreover, a declaration of war with Holland was popular both in France and England, for Louis wanted her sea power weakened before he himself struck, and England was thirsting

for a chance of crushing a serious commercial rival. Yet both these things led to the ruin of Clarendon. For in the end, money voted for the Dutch war was appropriated to the needs of an extravagant Court, and the war itself was so mismanaged that the Dutch admiral, De Witt, sailed up the Medway, and the roar of foreign guns was heard in London for the first, but not the last, time. This, together with the sale of Dunkirk, was looked upon as a national disgrace, and Clarendon, the king's scapegoat, was impeached and banished.

Yet, by the *Treaty of Breda*, 1667, England gained certain Dutch colonies in North America which more than compensated for her temporary loss of prestige on the seas.

§ 8. **The Bid for Toleration.**—In the next period (1667–1673) the fight for toleration stands out, among the lesser interests of the king's manœuvres to gain money that would make him independent of his Parliament. The most prominent figure on the political stage is now the Duke of Buckingham, who, as Prime Minister, still retained the fantastic characteristics of Restoration days, when he electrified the nation by his extravagance in dress and manners, wasted his fortune in gambling, and later on made himself bitterly hated for his clever satires on Court worthies of the period. It pleased him, after the fall of Clarendon, to appear as the champion of the Nonconformist party, and to work for the repeal of those laws that had hit Puritan and Catholic with equal force. The Commons, however, were sharply on the alert for such an attempt, and the usual difficulty of raising grants if they disagreed with the royal opinion, or that of his minister, settled that question.

On the whole, however, those years were free from persecution of either party, and were marked rather by the wild extravagance and evil living of the Court, led by the example of Charles and Buckingham. Yet, in the meantime, two events of importance were slowly taking shape. In 1669 the king's brother, the Duke of York and heir to the throne, declared himself to be a convinced Catholic; and Charles, who had been strongly attracted to the Church for many years, was playing fast and loose with his conscience by weighing the advantages and disadvantages of taking a similar step.

A series of most contradictory actions was the result. In 1670 we find Charles pressing through Parliament a Bill "for the suppression of conventicles" that forbade any

attendance at a service different from that of the Church of England.[1] In that same year he had secretly promised Louis XIV., in return for a yearly income, that he would profess himself a Catholic at a fitting time, and aid him in war against Holland, then the ally of England (*Secret Treaty of Dover*, 1670).

Again, in 1672, the king, acting under the influence of that remarkable person, Ashley, the future Lord Shaftesbury, had issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, which was to suspend the penal laws against both Catholics and Nonconformists.

It was but a sop thrown to the increasingly important "Country party," composed largely of Nonconformist merchants and tradesmen, descendants of the republicans of past years, and not much in sympathy with a Government tending towards despotism.

Deeply discontented with the failure of a fresh attempt at war with their commercial rivals, the Dutch, disgusted, too, with the immorality and extravagance of the Stuart Court, this party was strongly inclined to demand relief from the hardships it had suffered since the beginning of the reign, so long as any concession of liberty was not extended to the Catholics.

Meantime the insincerity of the king's religious convictions showed itself in the fact that, under pressure from a Parliament that saw in every move towards toleration an attempt to destroy the State Church, he withdrew the *Declaration*, and permitted the passing of a *Test Act* in its stead (1673).

This enacted that all who held office under the Crown must renounce the doctrine of the Mass and receive Communion according to the English rite. By this means Charles obtained the money he wanted from an appeased House of Commons, regardless of the fact that his brother James, Duke of York, was thereby driven from the office of High Admiral, which he had held with conspicuous success during the struggle with Holland.

Meantime the wily and ambitious Shaftesbury, now Lord Chancellor, had come forward as the leader of the Country, or "popular and Nonconformist," party, had quarrelled with the king in an over-zealous attempt to prevent the second marriage of James with a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena, and had fallen from power. But this did not prevent him from working up his "opposition" faction and in moving

[1] The Conventicle Act of 1664 had now expired.

heaven and earth to overthrow the administration of his rival Lord Danby, a strong supporter of the king's claims to impose his will on the nation.

§ 9. **The Popish Plot.**—Suddenly, in the year 1678, a new and powerful weapon appeared ready to his hand. A scoundrelly fellow called Titus Oates, once an Anglican minister, appeared upon the scene. From the depths of a vivid imagination he called up a picture of an England undermined by papist plots and conspiracies. He had even pretended to be reconciled to the Church in order to spy upon a Jesuit College abroad, from which he was quickly expelled in disgrace, only to worm his way into the College of St. Omer. From thence he returned to England primed with information so contradictory that even the most bigoted of his Protestant patrons could make little of it. Amongst other details, the king was to be shot, the Houses of Parliament were to be burnt, as well as all the shipping in the Thames, and the nation was to be handed over to a papist tyranny.

A panic followed, which rose to fever pitch when Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates had made his deposition, was found murdered by an unknown hand. The king himself examined the informer, and quickly exposed his discrepancies and perjuries; but Shaftesbury made full use of him as a tool to stir the alarmed nation against Parliament.

The immediate result of this pretended plot was disastrous to the Catholics. Five Catholic peers, supposed to have been appointed by the Pope to offices of State, were thrown into the Tower, and the rest of the Catholic peerage was excluded from the House of Lords. Most of those laymen whose names had appeared in the " information " were closely imprisoned, and a determined, though unsuccessful, attempt was made to exclude the Duke of York from the throne.

A terrible time of bloodshed and persecution, recalling the worst days of the Elizabethan terror, followed. One after another, innocent men suffered at Tyburn during the years 1678–1681, some merely for being priests, some on the false evidence of the informer and of others who had taken up his trade. One of the last to suffer was the saintly Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket, who, in spite of the strongest proofs of his loyalty, was accused of preparing the way for a French invasion by way of Ireland, and of collecting money

for raising an army to join the invaders, massacre the Protestants, and establish the Catholic Faith in England. To this the old man, whose own witnesses were delayed till too late to be of use, replied simply that he was innocent, and that he was utterly incapable of raising money for an army since he could not even collect seventy pounds a year for his own maintenance. "I cannot pardon him because I dare not," cried the selfish king, dismayed at the condemnation of that holy man. But the blood of Blessed Oliver Plunket was to cry aloud from Tyburn ground for retribution on his murderers. Against Shaftesbury and his faction (then known as *Whigs*), when they appeared in arms to force through the *Exclusion Bill* of 1681, an extraordinary reaction set in. The information of their leaders' spies had now been laid against himself, and the rumour of an attempt at civil war for the purpose of setting up the wretched young Earl of Monmouth, the king's natural son, as heir instead of James of York, brought about a split in the ranks of the Opposition. The majority sided with the Tory, or king's, party, and the last Parliament of Charles II. came to a sudden end. Shaftesbury himself, described by Dryden as

> "Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
> In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace,"

fled to Holland to avoid a trial for treason and died there ignominiously in 1683. One more attempt was made by his party to raise a revolt against the royal power, and some of the bolder spirits were prepared to assassinate the king and his brother at the lonely Rye House, as they rode from Newmarket to London. This was discovered, and led to the execution of innocent men such as Lord William Russell, who died "a martyr to the doctrine of lawful resistance."

§ 10. **Social Progress in the later Stuart Period.**—Two years later, Charles died a Catholic, having been reconciled upon his deathbed to a Church that he had hitherto treated as a mere political power. His had been a restless reign, dominated by his own selfish policy of selling his honour and that of his country to a foreign king who would pay his price. Yet, on the whole, progress, social and economic, had been made.

For these years had seen a great increase of oversea trade, which had made England a wealthy nation, and increased the power of the merchant middle-class, destined to play such

an important part in the next century. As a consequence, London, rising on the ashes of the little mediæval city, had become a great town of worldwide renown.

The appearance of newspapers shows the interest taken by the people in what were then described as the "actions and counsels of their superiors."

Travelling became fashionable, reflecting the restless spirit of the day, though it still took the "Flying Coach" twelve hours to get from London to Oxford.

Under the able management of James, Duke of York, and his secretary, Pepys, the navy had been reorganized, and, during his reign of four years, sixty new ships were added to the fleet. More important, perhaps, as affecting the future progress of England, was the advance in scientific knowledge owing to the discoveries of such men as Sir Isaac Newton and other fellows of the newly founded Royal Society.

The rapid changes that were taking place during the latter part of the seventeenth century are perhaps best seen in the condition of the University of Oxford in these years. When Cromwell ruled, the royalist university fell into the hands of a Parliamentary Commission, which expelled those Heads of Colleges and Fellows who would not swear to the *Solemn League and Covenant*. Their place was taken by Presbyterian ministers, till they in their turn were driven out by Independents, who elected Cromwell their Chancellor. Under his drastic discipline, five hundred Fellows and their wives were ejected by force for refusing to use the "*Directory*" service, instead of the Book of Common Prayer, in their chapels. Bitter sectarian discussions now took the place of "sound learning," though the latter was not found altogether wanting. In Restoration days Oxford took pains to "restore all signs of monarchy . . . and to reduce the university to the old methods of preaching and praying"—which were not so very old, after all. But learning still suffered. "A lecture now and then was a great condescension," wrote an undergraduate of that day, "but God's grace . . . secured me so far as to leave Oxford, though not more learned, yet not much worse than I came hither."

§ 11. **The "Bloodless" Revolution,** 1688.—The last scene in the history of the university in this period is an epitome of the short reign of James II. For James, one of the few English sovereigns since the sixteenth century who possessed

a conscience, was doomed to utter failure as a king by his arbitrary method of enforcing his own will, a method that Tudor subjects might have applauded, but which roused Stuart citizens to angry opposition.

In his attempt to force the Catholic faith upon a bewildered and unwilling nation, James had appointed Bishop Parker as President of Magdalen College. The Fellows refused to elect, and were forthwith rated like schoolboys. "I am king! I will be obeyed! Go to your chapel this instant and elect him. Let those who refuse look to it, for they shall feel the whole weight of my hand."

Such want of tact was fatal in dealing with a people "still licking their bloodstained jaws over the draughts of Catholic blood they had drunk in the Titus Oates period." It accounts for the fact that within four years James had hopelessly estranged the State Church, the most ardent supporter of royalty, had transformed the Whig party from a small faction to a powerful Opposition, and had united Anglicans and Nonconformists in a struggle which deprived him of his throne and brought in a new dynasty.

Yet, remembering the character of the brutal penal laws, we can but regard the insistence of the king on his right to "Dispensing Power" as a virtue. Nor was he the intolerant bigot he has sometimes been painted. His *Declaration of Indulgence* (1687) protected Catholics and Nonconformists alike; but by the time it was issued, the greater part of the nation saw in it only a political device to gain the support of the latter against a State Church which had steadfastly opposed him from the first.

The matter was put to the test by the refusal of the majority of the clergy to read the *Declaration* from their pulpits as ordered, and by the presenting of a petition signed by six bishops and by Archbishop Sancroft, asking him to withdraw his order. Unfortunately, James characterized this as a "false, malicious, and seditious libel," and the seven ecclesiastics were committed to the Tower to await trial. Their progress thither was turned by the Londoners into a triumphal march; the very sentinels knelt to ask their blessing; the warders drank their health instead of the king's. The result of the trial was doubtful, for a favourable verdict on their side was an open condemnation of the king. When it came, the shouts of the gratified populace were heard as far off as the camp on

Hounslow Heath, where lay the "standing army" by means of which the king had hoped to rule rebellious subjects.

In the midst of all this, the birth of a prince, who would succeed as a Catholic sovereign, weighted the scale even more heavily against James. Two years earlier, the execution of the Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II., who had raised an unsuccessful revolt in favour of his own accession among the West Country Whigs, had turned the eyes of the Whig party to Holland. For Mary, the wife of William the Stadtholder, Prince of Orange, was James's heir in default of a son; William himself was the grandson of Charles I.; and both were Protestants.

Within a fortnight of the acquittal of the Bishops, negotiations were on foot with Holland. It was a propitious moment, for the Prince of Orange was, at that time, the centre of interest to one half of Europe, which momentarily expected from Louis XIV. a mighty attack that was to make the kingdom of France supreme. Pope, Emperor, and princes looked to Holland to break the force of that attack; and any event that would bring in England to the side of the Stadtholder was to be welcomed. Knowing this, Louis was prepared to send a French fleet to the aid of James, but an offer that would probably have been at once accepted by Charles II. was refused by a king who would not believe either in his daughter's disloyalty or in the possibility of Holland invading England in force while her own borders were threatened by France.

Within a fortnight all hope of aid from France was ended by a French declaration of war against the Emperor, coupled with an assurance of friendship to Holland. Thus was the way left clear, and James, hearing of the approach of his son-in-law, "not as a sovereign, but as a defender of the nation's rights," knew his brief reign was at an end (1688). His standing army was taken over by the disloyal Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, to the newcomer; his daughter Anne and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, hastened to welcome the Dutch prince, and, realizing there was no hope of support in the nation, the king fled to France, where, in later years, he died the death of a saint.

§ 12. **The "Stop-Gap" Reigns.**—We must now glance for a brief moment at the character of two "stop-gap" reigns, unimportant in themselves, but marked by three points of special interest.

First, we see the *necessity of settlement* in a nation which had seen three revolutions within forty years. This was brought about in England without much difficulty, since the "Bloodless Revolution" that had landed William and Mary on the throne depended for its success on their prudent, if unconscientious, resolve to conciliate the country at any cost.

A clear understanding as to the *suppression of absolute power* was expressed at the end of William's reign by the *Act of Settlement* (1701), which contained all that Parliament had demanded in the *Bill of Rights;* and the *Act of Succession,* during the first year of his reign (1689). Catholics were deliberately excluded from the throne, and thus the direct line of male Stuart heirs was set aside. Four "abuses" of the past few years were declared illegal: (1) "Dispensing Power"; (2) Court of Ecclesiastical Commission; (3) levying taxes without consent of Parliament; (4) a standing army in time of peace. Judges were to hold office only "during good behaviour"—a clause aimed at the employment of subservient officials by the king—and the right of freedom in speech and frequent meeting was claimed by Parliament.

Another clause of this *Act of Settlement* gives the key to the real character of the reign. It enacted that "*the king must not leave England without consent of Parliament, nor force this realm to go to war in defence of any foreign country.*" For, in place of a sovereign who, if impatient of temper, tactless, and arbitrary, yet had the welfare of the nation closely at heart, England was now ruled by a phlegmatic Dutchman, who cared only for the success of his military plans abroad. He was ready enough, therefore, to give in to the people's will, to pass a *Toleration Act* (1689) that made him the idol of the fast-increasing Protestant party, while retaining the penal laws against the little Catholic minority. He was prepared also to play off Whigs against Tories when it suited him, though, finding the former more in favour of his foreign wars, he presently formed a Whig Ministry, known as the *Junto,* which in some respects may be compared to the modern Cabinet. But throughout all this his eyes were fixed upon France, and his real intention was to use England as well as Holland to checkmate the aims of Louis.

§ 13. **Jacobites in Ireland.**—Meanwhile, however, the first two years of his reign were occupied in the not very glorious task of crushing an Ireland loyal to the Stuart cause and

hopeful of gaining its own independence. The help given to James by Louis had precipitated England into war with France, but that help was not sufficient to restore the Stuart king. At the *Battle of the Boyne* (1690) he met with final defeat, the glory of which was dimmed for William by the failure of his fleet, which was chased to the mouth of the Thames by the French navy.

By the *Treaty of Limerick* an attempt was made to " settle " a nation seething with injustice, defeat, and a sense of frustrated loyalty to a lost cause. The Catholic Irish were allowed religious freedom, but only in name. For the Irish Parliament was entirely Protestant and proceeded to pass a penal and commercial code which aimed at the extermination of the original nation. Trade was ruined, industries were cramped, and heavy religious penalties imposed upon a native Catholic population, by a minority of Protestant administrators. In consequence, a host of Irish " Jacobites," as the adherents of James were called, passed over to France, where, as the famous " Irish Brigade," they played a gallant part in the wars of Louis XIV. Those who stayed behind saw orphans brought up as Protestants, and priests hanged for making converts, or banished for refusing to take oaths that were disloyal to their Faith.

§ 14. **Jacobites in Scotland.**—While Ireland was thus left permanently embittered against English rule, a somewhat similar struggle had taken place in Scotland.

There the brave Highland clans, Catholic to a man, had gladly risen under an idolized leader, Claverhouse, their " Bonny Dundee," against the Presbyterian clan of the Campbells. But when Viscount Dundee fell at the moment of victory in the charge of the Pass of Killiecrankie (1689), the Highlanders, left without a leader, were obliged to return to their mountain homes. Before the end of the year 1691 most of them, hopeless of the success of the Stuart cause, had taken the oath of allegiance; but, owing to some unexpected delays, the MacDonalds of Glencoe were a few days late in so doing.

In consequence, a nervous English Government gave the Scottish governor, Lord Stair, permission to exterminate the clan. By a disgraceful act of treachery, troops entered the Valley of Glencoe as peaceful visitors, and were treated as honoured guests by the unsuspecting Highlanders. But one

dark night the clan was butchered in cold blood by the newcomers, a deed which left in Scotland, as in Ireland, a legacy of hate to England and fervent loyalty to the Jacobite cause.

The end of the story of Scotland's independence belongs to the reign of Anne. Among the wealthy industrial population of the Lowlands, as well as in the wild Highland clans, there still existed in her days a mood of deep discontent. The Lowlanders were ready to accept William and Mary as their rulers, or Anne as their queen; but they knew that owing to the loose connection between the two countries the interests of Scotland were bound to suffer. There was, for example, no free trade with England, and no Scottish goods could be exported save in English ships. When Scotland had tried to establish an East India Company, the trade jealousy of England had been its ruin; and on England's reluctance to engage in war with Spain, on behalf of Scottish emigrants to the Isthmus of Darien, was laid the blame of the failure of an expedition (1698–1700) that aimed at rivalling the Spanish trade in that region.

Therefore, in 1703, the Scottish Parliament declared, in an *Act of Security*, their intention to appoint their own successor to the throne after the death of Anne, unless their Presbyterian religion and their trade were alike safeguarded. The result was the *Act of Union*, passed in 1707, which established the religion of the Lowlands, freed her commerce, and proclaimed her union with England by summoning forty-five Scottish members to the House of Commons, and sixteen peers to the House of Lords. At the same time her national institutions and laws were retained. The effect of this was prosperity and peace for that part of Scotland which was most closely akin to England in race as well as in commercial interests. The Highlands meantime waited, in grim patience, for the day that should see the end of the "Sorrowful Union" and the triumph of the Jacobite cause.

EXERCISES

1. Show the "experimental" character of Cromwell's government.
2. Sketch the foreign policy of the Protector.
3. Illustrate from the history of these years: "The reign of Charles II. shows a strong reaction against Puritans, followed by an equally strong reaction against Catholics."
4. Mark the steps that led in the direction of so-called "toleration" in this period.

5. Estimate the importance of the " Popish Plot."
6. Discuss " Social Progress " under the later Stuarts.
7. Write brief paragraphs showing the place and importance in history of the *Act of Union, Battle of the Boyne, Trial of the Seven Bishops,* the *Bloodless Revolution, Act of Settlement.*

CHIEF EVENTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1603–1714.

1603. Accession of James I.
1605. Gunpowder Plot.
1614. *Addled Parliament.*
1621. Impeachment of Bacon.
1625. Accession of Charles I.
1628. Petition of Right.
1629. Eliot imprisoned.
1629–1640. *Period of Despotic Rule.*
1637. Hampden refuses to pay Ship-money.
1638. National League and Covenant signed by the Scots.
1640. Long Parliament impeaches Strafford and Laud.
1641. The Grand Remonstrance.
1642. Battle of *Edgehill* (indecisive).
1643. Battle of *Chalgrove Field*
Battle of *Roundaway Down* } Royalist victories.
Battle of *Newbury*
Solemn League and Covenant signed.
1644. Battle of *Marston Moor* (Roundhead victory).
Second Battle of *Newbury* (indecisive).
1645. Self-denying Ordinance.
Battle of *Naseby* (Cromwell's victory).
Rout of Montrose at *Philiphaugh.*
1648. Second Civil War. Battle of *Preston* (Roundhead victory).
1649. Trial and Execution of Charles I. Commonwealth proclaimed.
1651. Scots invade England. Battle of *Worcester* (Roundhead victory).
1651. Navigation Act.
1652. The Dutch War.
1653. Cromwell made Lord Protector.
1657. " Humble Petition and Advice."
1658. Richard Cromwell Protector. The fear of anarchy.
1660. The Restoration of Charles II.
1661. Corporation Act.
1662. Act of Uniformity.
1664. Conventicle Act.
1665. War with Holland. Five-Mile Act.
1666. Defeat of English off Dover. Victory off North Foreland. Fire of London.
1667. The Dutch in the Medway. Peace with Holland. Fall of Clarendon.
1668. Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden.
1670. Secret Treaty of Dover between France and England.
1672. Declaration of Indulgence. War with Holland.
1673. The Test Act.
1674. Peace with Holland.

1678. The Popish Plot.
1679. The Habeas Corpus Act.
1682. Fall of Shaftesbury.
1683. Rye House Plot.
1685. Accession of James II. Insurrection of Monmouth. Battle of *Sedgemoor*.
1687. Declaration of Indulgence.
1688. The Seven Bishops.
1689. Accession of William.
1690. Battle of the *Boyne*. Defeat off *Beachy Head*.
1692. Massacre of Glencoe. Destruction of French fleet off *La Hogue*.
1694. Bank of England established.
1697. Treaty of Ryswick.
1699. The Darien Scheme.
1701. Act of Settlement.
1702. Accession of Anne.
Marlborough's campaign in the Netherlands.
1704. Capture of Gibraltar.
Battle of *Blenheim*.
1707. Union of England and Scotland.
1708. Capture of *Minorca*.
1710. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell.
1711. Triumph of Bolingbroke and Harley.
1713. Treaty of *Utrecht*.
1714. The Jacobite Plot and the Whig Triumph.

THE RISE OF SEA POWER

CHAPTER XV

THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE—THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1700–1760)

CONTEMPORARY KINGS AND RULERS

Britain.	*France.*	*Spain.*
George I., 1714	Louis XV., 1715	Philip V., 1700
George II., 1727	Louis XVI., 1774	Ferdinand VI., 1746
George III., 1760		Charles III., 1759
		Charles IV., 1788

Empire.	*Prussia.*	*Russia.*
Charles VI., 1711	Frederic William I., 1713	Peter the Great, 1689
Marie Thérèse, 1740	Frederic the Great, 1740	Peter II., 1727
Charles VII., 1742	Frederic William II., 1786	Anna, 1730
Francis I., 1745		Ivan VI., 1740
Joseph II., 1765		Elizabeth, 1741
		Catherine II., 1762

Papacy.

Clement XI., 1700	Clement XII., 1730	Clement XIV., 1769
Innocent XIII., 1721	Benedict XIV., 1740	Pius VI., 1775
Benedict XIII., 1724	Clement XIII., 1758	

General Survey.—The period covered by the first half of the eighteenth century is marked by two main lines of development.

1. *Period of Foreign Wars.*—Great Britain, as we must now call the united kingdoms of England and Scotland, was drawn into a series of European wars which extended, with two intervals of about twenty years, throughout this century and well into the next. The details of these we shall not consider, but the cause and effect of each are important in their influence upon the growth of British sea power and the British Empire.

2. *Growth of Party Government.*—During this same period we find some striking changes in the method of home govern-

ment. The struggle between Crown and Parliament that had marked the previous century now showed its effect in the permanence of "parties" in the State. *Cavaliers* and *Roundheads* had now given place to *Tories* and *Whigs:* the one holding to the principles of the State Church and supporting the general principle of royal supremacy and of "non-resistance" to the Crown; the other "Low Church" and Nonconformist in sympathy, and upholding Parliamentary control. The rivalry of these two parties led to constant and violent upheavals for a time, though they were not moved to opposition by great questions of politics or religion so much as by personal ambitions and motives.

§ 1. **Party Government: Whigs and Tories.**—It was, to begin with, a period of intrigues at Court and of party factions, swayed by different interests and personalities. There was the bold and dashing Tory leader, Bolingbroke, the only element of romance in that commonplace period; and the loud-voiced Whig, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, with her boundless influence over Queen Anne during the first years of the century. Then there was Mrs. Masham, another "Lady of the Bedchamber," who became the tool of Harley, Lord Oxford, and of Bolingbroke, and who succeeded in getting the Whig party dismissed and the famous War Minister Marlborough removed from power. None of these things are important, but the temper of the nation at the time may be ascertained by one curious incident, serving to show how small a matter would make or unmake a "party" in the early years of this period.

The sullen discontent of the people at the heavy taxation necessitated by Marlborough's foreign war—the legacy of William III. to the nation—suddenly made itself articulate in the furious attack of Dr. Sacheverell, the "High Churchman" of his day, upon both the religious and political principles of the Whigs. The riots that followed his impeachment by a thin-skinned Government, not only led to the imposition of a merely nominal penalty, but opened the door, first, to the dismissal of the redoubtable Whig Duchess, and then to the proposed *coup d'état* of that fiery spirit, Bolingbroke, who aimed at the downfall of the Whigs. Three years later this bold Tory leader attempted to use the reaction, which was still making itself felt, to bring about the succession of James Stuart, son of James II., the "old Cavalier."

But the Tories were by no means wholly Jacobite in sym-

pathy; nor had Bolingbroke the stability to work a "Restoration." The sudden illness and death of Queen Anne destroyed his hopes, and he disappeared into foreign exile when the Whig party seized their chance to return to power. Engineered by the latter faction, the succession of George of Hanover, great-grandson of James I., was unopposed.

In connection with this rise of "party" in the State, we may notice the curiously varying power of the Crown at this period. It must be remembered that, in those days, at least a hundred members of Parliament depended absolutely on the Crown for the offices they held, and could be dismissed at a moment's notice. Anne, to a certain extent, had used this particular means of upholding what was called *royal prerogative*, but after her death, when for nearly fifty years the kingship was represented by petty German princes, one of whom, at least, knew not a word of English, and both of whom were far more interested in Hanoverian than in English politics, it was obvious that they were rulers only in name. This was the opportunity for the complete ascendancy of Parliament, and for the rise of a Ministry of State, acting through a small body of representatives of the predominant party. This was known as the "cabinet," and was led by a Prime Minister. For the first half of the century, therefore, we find the policy of Britain in the hands of men like Walpole, himself a leader of such weight that he has been said to have "created the Prime Ministership in his own person." In later years we see George III. endeavouring to break the power of the great Whig party established by Walpole, by playing off one faction against the other. Only when the House of Commons was hopelessly divided into discordant groups was George able to rule as a king in fact as well as in name.

Two characteristics of this period of party government are interesting. After the popular outcry for "Sacheverell and the High Church" had subsided, the State Church counted for practically nothing in politics. The immense part that the mediæval Church had played in the government of the realm had now passed away, and was replaced to some extent by a new power, the influence of the Press. Never was there a closer connection between literature and politics than in the early part of this period. We may, indeed, say that the power at the back of the torrent that swept away the Whig party, in the reign of Anne, was the mass of pamphlets with

which the country was flooded, while the triumph of that party, after the fall of Bolingbroke, was by no means unconnected with the writings of Addison and Steele. The first daily paper appeared in the reign of Anne, and men of the highest literary achievements did not hesitate to take a leading part in dealing with the politics of the day.

With these same tangled politics we shall not attempt to deal in detail, but one thing must be clearly realized. The Whig party, in whose hands lay the governing power for more than half the century, was the representative of the "new aristocracy" of Tudor days—merchant princes, whose ideals were material wealth and prosperity. Thus the earlier years of the century are stamped with the mark of commercialism—sometimes successful, as in the case of the scheme of the Scotsman Paterson in 1696 for lending money through a banking company, which developed into the Bank of England; sometimes unsuccessful, as in the case of the South Sea Company, which in 1720 collapsed, after proposing to carry on a trade so enormous that shareholders were to grow wealthy in a week. It was partly the havoc wrought in business by the bursting of this "South Sea Bubble" that caused the nation to put its whole trust in Walpole, the Prime Minister who represented so completely the cautious commercial middle class and the trading population, as well as the "Whig aristocracy," whose interests were equally bound up in the race for making money.

From this time the important matter, as far as politics are concerned, was not the personality of the king, but the personality of the Prime Minister.

§ 2. **Walpole's Ministry,** 1721–1742. — Under Walpole's essentially middle-class influence, Britain remained at peace at a time when almost the whole of Europe was at war. Her material wealth was thus increased at a time when the resources of other nations were being exhausted, and her development of trade prosperity prepared her to play an important part, both in Continental and in colonial affairs, during the last part of the century.

On the other hand, Walpole also represents another aspect of eighteenth-century politics. As was inevitable where religious motives no longer appealed, the baser side of human nature came uppermost where money matters were concerned. When the Prime Minister himself did not hesitate

to buy support, with bribes of office, if he thought it to the advantage of his party, or to drive from power those who honestly opposed his policy, we cannot look for exalted ideals of honour among his followers. For when the highest aim of the country's leader was the increase of national wealth at any cost, a low moral standard and a lack of public spirit were too often the result. And since that leader was always ready to drop a policy, however advantageous, if it imperilled the position of himself or his party, his somewhat ignoble motto "*quieta non movere*" (roughly translated "let sleeping dogs lie") stamps the greater part of his political career. It accounts for the failure of certain financial reforms, such as the *Excise Bill* of 1733. This was an attempt to extinguish the habitual smuggling which was bound to go on when the heavy "customs," or taxes on goods brought into Britain, made it scarcely worth while to carry them into port. Moreover, when wine and tobacco could be landed, duty free, at some out-of-the-way cove, it was well worth the risk of a fight with the Custom House officers if they were discovered. Walpole's plan was to take off the customs duty altogether, and get the money back by the *excise*, a tax paid on certain goods of home production when taken from the warehouse for dispersal through the country. But the nation, which remembered the excise duties imposed by Stuart kings, would have none of it, and Walpole withdrew the Bill.

This was mere expediency. His dealing with an Edinburgh riot, caused by the execution of a smuggler named Wilson, shows his wiser judgment. The mob, always on the side of the smugglers, having applauded this man on the scaffold, was fired at by a certain Captain Porteous, and, as a result, several persons were killed. A pretence of a death sentence was passed on the officer, but when this was at once commuted by the Government, the mob stormed the prison and hanged him without more ado. In the hands of a less cautious minister the whole of Scotland, already very much on edge against the customs imposition, might have made this a signal for revolt, but when dealt with by Walpole the affair fizzled out, and became a matter of a fine.

It is a curious fact that so astute a man should have blinded himself to the fact that his "peace policy" was tending in the end to bring ruin on the commercial prosperity of his country.

The whole keynote to the foreign wars of this period lay

in the importance of preventing an alliance between France and Spain, both the formidable trade rivals of Britain. Yet Walpole would not hear of drawing the sword, even when, in 1733, a "Family Compact" was made between France and Spain, both under the rule of different branches of the Bourbons, with the express purpose of opposing Britain's commercial prosperity and colonial expansion. When this developed further into a great Continental struggle between the Bourbon kingdoms and Austria, which was backed by Russia and the German States, he was yet able to say with complete self-satisfaction to his ardent supporter, Queen Caroline, "Madam, there are fifty thousand men slain in Europe this year, and not one of them is an Englishman."

There was now coming to the fore, however, as leader of the Tory party, an able man, Lord Carteret, who had been forced to resign his office as Secretary of State under the Whigs, because his knowledge of Continental affairs, which was far superior to that of Walpole, led him to urge the Government to war with France. His "Opposition" was also strengthened by the sympathy of a faction formed of the younger and more discontented members of the Whig party, led by a youthful politician of whom we shall hear later as William Pitt. These influences, together with the fact that Spanish ports in America were being closed to English ships, that an English captain had been mutilated by having his ears cut off by Spanish officials, and that the nation was clamouring for war, forced Walpole to a half-hearted attempt at a naval expedition against Spain (*War of Jenkins's Ear*, 1739). This, however, soon languished when it was known that its leader, Commodore Anson, had vanished in the mists of the Pacific. Then, quite suddenly, a crisis arose on the Continent. No longer could Walpole's lethargy stem the current of popular opinion. It became clear that Britain must submit to a Bourbon supremacy or take up arms. In 1742 Carteret succeeded Walpole in office, and Britain was launched into the second great Continental war of the century, the first having been fought in the days of Queen Anne under Marlborough's leadership.

For the sake of clearness we will study these two wars in close connection.

§ 3. **The Period of Foreign Wars.**—(*a*) The cause of this first conflict, the *War of the Spanish Succession* (1702–1714),

as far as Europe was concerned, was the opposing claims of the Bourbons of France and the Habsburgs of Austria to the Spanish crown. The chief aim of Marlborough was to throw the weight of Britain in the scale against France, in order to prevent a permanent union of the Spanish and French crowns —a union which was bound to crush all hopes of British colonial expansion. His second aim was to frustrate any attempt of Louis to restore the male Stuart line to the throne of England.

The military intentions of France in this war were to strike a final blow at Austria by securing Vienna; and it was Marlborough's gallant dash across Europe that saved the situation by the victory of *Blenheim* (1704). The rest of the war, as far as Britain was concerned, was fought out in the Netherlands, where the fortresses of the French frontier were attacked. With the fall of *Lille* and *Mons* the war ended in a kind of "stalemate" that was, on the whole, to the advantage of Britain, whose navy had taken the island of *Minorca* and the *Rock of Gibraltar* from Spain.

By the *Treaty of Utrecht*, in 1713, Louis XIV. secured Spain for his grandson, the Dauphin's younger son Philip, on condition that he banished the Stuarts, acknowledged the Protestant succession in Britain, and restored to Holland her frontier fortresses. France also gained the border provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The Emperor secured the Spanish Netherlands, and most of the Spanish provinces in Italy. Britain gained her conquests, Gibraltar and Minorca, some new trading advantages in the Spanish Indies, and in North America the districts formerly held by France in *Acadie* (Nova Scotia), *Newfoundland*, and *Hudson Bay Territory*. *Hence, the main result of the war for the home country was to strengthen her position as a maritime and colonial Power.*

(*b*) *The War of the Austrian Succession* (1742–1748). A minor clause in the treaty of Utrecht had permitted the "Elector of Brandenburg" to take the title "King of Prussia." From that moment dates the appearance of a new Power, which, in the hands of Frederic the Great—the "Robber of Europe" —now threatened Silesia, the "brightest jewel in the crown" of the young queen, Marie-Thérèse, of Austria. At the same time another host of bandit kings swooped upon her borders. The Elector Charles of Bavaria had put in a claim to the whole Austrian Empire, on the plea that his wife, the niece

of the late Emperor, being descended from the elder line, had a better right to the throne than the present Empress. To the support of Charles France came hurrying, in order to gain for Louis XV. the coveted Austrian Netherlands; and Spain, in order that Philip V. might add the Imperial States in Italy to the empire of his son.

It was the farsighted policy of Carteret which caused Britain to enter the struggle as the opponent of France, the most active empire-builder in Europe, and of Spain, the chief commercial rival of this country. Moreover, if France got the upper hand, the Austrian Netherlands, and especially the port of Antwerp, which commanded the eastern coast of Britain, would fall into the hands of her most powerful commercial rival. Lastly, one not unimportant cause of Britain's entry was the strong desire of the Hanoverian, George II., to strike a blow against two petty princes of Germany, the young King of Prussia, and Charles of Bavaria who had now declared himself Emperor of Austria.

The war itself, as far as Britain was concerned, was fought mainly by Hanoverian troops and with British money, under the generalship of George himself, who defeated French and Bavarian forces at *Dettingen* (1743). Carteret, meantime, knowing well that the real thing to be dreaded was a powerful alliance between France and Spain, tried to prevent this by a strong Austro-British coalition, in which he was prepared to finance the troops of Hanover anew. But the jealousy of political "jobbers," such as Pelham and Newcastle, cut short Carteret's career. Accusing him of wasting public money in the interests of Hanover, they demanded that the contest with France should be fought out at sea, and not by land; and over this Carteret resigned.

The next year, 1745, was memorable for England. A desperate attempt of the French, led by Marshal Saxe, to seize the Netherlands, summoned the Duke of Cumberland's troops to bar the way. But though at *Fontenoy* Cumberland was defeated, France herself was greatly weakened by the withdrawal of Frederic of Prussia from her alliance. She therefore determined to strike a direct blow at Great Britain by supporting a Jacobite revolution on behalf of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

§ 4. **The Rebellion of the "Forty-Five."**—Thirty years earlier had seen a somewhat half-hearted attempt to rouse the

Highland clans in favour of that stiff and uninteresting prince, James Stuart, the " Old Cavalier." A few of the Tory noblemen of the North, disgusted with the Hanoverian succession, had risen in Lancashire, always a Catholic stronghold, but had been met at *Preston* (1715) by the king's troops and forced to surrender. The Highlanders, led by the Earl of Mar, had meantime dispersed, after a strange and indecisive encounter with the army of Argyll among the mists and bogs of *Sheriffmuir*. The only effect of this badly organized rising was a renewed harassing of the Catholics, and the execution of the Earl of Derwentwater and other notable Catholic peers. It was clear there was no general feeling of sympathy with the Stuart cause in either Scotland or England.

Thirty years later, however, certain developments had prepared the way for another and more successful rising. In England a certain section of the Tories were inclined to support a Jacobite revolt as a means of removing the Whigs from power. In Scotland feeling rose much higher. The Highlanders had always remained loyal to the Stuarts, and by this time many of the Lowlanders found themselves deeply discontented with the promised commercial advantages of the Union. Both were prepared, therefore, to consider the claims of the undoubted heir to the Stuart line of kings, in the person of that attractive and charming young prince, Charles Edward, the " Young Cavalier." The audacity which brought Edinburgh into his grasp after the *Canter of Colt Brigg* (1745), and his dashing success over the troops of General Cope at *Prestonpans* carried the prince gaily over the border and into Lancashire. It was hoped that the gallant little army of devoted clansmen would be joined by the Tory Jacobites and Catholics of the North, in a rapid descent upon the capital. In London the citizens were panic-stricken, and the wildest rumours were afloat. But as a matter of fact very few rose on behalf of the prince. The spirit of Catholics had been wellnigh crushed by years of injustice and isolation, and the desire of Protestant Tories to see the downfall of a Whig Government was not strong enough to make them risk life and property on behalf of a Catholic succession.

At Derby, the Jacobites, finding a large army between them and London, sullenly retreated to the border, and at *Culloden* (1746) were cut off by the forces of the Duke of Cumberland, who earned the title of " Butcher " by his ruthless

massacre of the unhappy little band. The prince escaped, and, after some thrilling adventures, fled back to France, never to set foot in Scotland again.

The revolt had proved the temper of England to be loyal to the House of Hanover, though, as usual, the Catholics had to pay the price of it. They had now to submit to a new proclamation, which put into execution the old penal laws against "Jesuits and Popish priests." But in the Catholic Highlands the romantic love for a cause that was lost still lived on, nourished by many a gallant or heartbreaking lyric, sung in secret beside the mountain burns; and, realizing this, the British Government determined to stamp out this Jacobite spirit with ruthless cruelty. Chieftains were torn from their hills and sent into exile; their followers were forbidden to carry arms or to wear the kilt. More effective, perhaps, was the enlistment of many new Highland regiments, soon to be busily employed in another great Continental war.

Meantime, the War of the Austrian Succession had dragged on without active share in it by Britain. But the ill-feeling that existed between the colonists of each country had led in America to the capture of the French town of *Louisburg*, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and in India to a fight between the rival trade companies, which ended in the capture of Madras by the French.

The third European conflict, known as the *Seven Years' War* (1756–1763), is important for two reasons. It established the supremacy of Britain by sea, and it added Canada and a large part of India to our Empire. Of the European aspect of this conflict we shall read later on. It is as well to note here that to this struggle the war, now ended by the peace of Aachen (1748), had been a kind of prologue. Madras and Louisburg had, it is true, been restored to their original owners, but in both India and Canada a spirit of hostility had been kindled that was bound to flare up into actual warfare.

§ 5. **The Struggle in India** (1748–1756).—The first act of the drama, which ended in the triumph of the *East India Company*, is laid in the period before the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe. To realize its perspective, we must glance back to the year 1556, when a certain ruler, named Akbar, founded the empire of the Great Mogul. This prince had proved his power by extending a wise and just rule from Afghanistan to the Bay of Bengal, and from

the Himalayas to Surat. In his reign, Mussulmans, Brahmins, and Catholic missionaries knew for the first time what toleration implied, and by his commercial dealings with the Portuguese traders upon his coast he had won a European reputation for justice. To the Court of his son, Jehangir, came the Englishman Sir Thomas Roe, in the early years of the seventeenth century, but in those days, though Roe spoke with respect of his wealth and prosperity, he noted also the signs of weakness in administration. "The time will come," he wrote, "when all these kingdoms will be in great combustion." His words were fulfilled a century later, when the last great emperor passed away, leaving a vast empire utterly disorganized, officials anxious only to seize what they might of the spoil, subject princes bent upon independence and averse from anything like united action. This was the opportunity for a clever young Frenchman, Dupleix, to seize his chance of conquest.

Since the middle of the seventeenth century three Western nations had appeared upon the coasts of India. The Dutch, at first by far the most prosperous trade settlers, suffered greatly in later years by the unsettled conditions of the country during the break-up of the empire. Their resources had also been drained by the constant warfare of the motherland, and the alliance between Holland and Britain, brought about by the Revolution of 1688, had prevented them from improving their position at the expense of their former rivals.

By the year 1640 the *British East India Company*, which had planted its first trading settlement at Surat nearly thirty years before, had firmly established itself also at Madras, and in Bengal. After the Restoration, the Company began to flourish exceedingly. It gained a charter from Charles II. which gave its officials the right of coining money, and of ruling the native and British settlers within the walls of their "stations" like petty princes. Their fort, St. George (Calcutta), commanded the mouth of the Ganges. Then Bombay, part of the dowry of the wife of Charles II., was made over to the Company; and already thriving factories existed in Bengal. When the disruption of the empire began to come about, some of the settlements were left defenceless before the attacks of native princes, others became entangled in the snare of native politics. A badly managed attempt to make war upon the falling empire raised up bitter enemies at home,

and a dark period of strife amongst themselves was only ended by the formation of the *New Company*, whose members were pledged to confine themselves to trade, and in their own words "to propagate the future interest of our nation in India." From that time the prosperity of the East India Company increased by leaps and bounds. It soon owned territories rather than factories, and before the middle of the eighteenth century its supremacy in India was unchallenged.

This *British East India Company* had won its position by sheer hard labour, "wresting its privileges step by step from the Crown," and often discouraged by the home Government. The French company, on the other hand, formed in 1664, began its existence in a glory of royal patronage and State support. It was to be a great national undertaking, and a source of immense wealth to France. But this ideal made it subject to constant interference from the mother-country, which soon transformed a free enterprise into a department of the State. Moreover, the French Company employed its energies in colonization rather than trade; it was hampered from the first by Dutch hostility, and when the European war absorbed the resources of France, it languished.

About the year 1740, however, there appeared upon the scene a new governor of the French settlement at Pondicherry, called Dupleix, who conceived the brilliant idea of using the newly emancipated native princes as his allies, in order to drive out the British, and thereafter to build up a vast French empire in India. He had trained native soldiers (sepoys) in warfare and knew their certainty of success against undisciplined native troops, and he got the chance of employing them against the British during the European War of the Austrian Succession. In 1746, calling to his aid the French fleet stationed at the Mauritius, he attacked Madras, which fell into the hands of Admiral La Bourdonnais. When the Nawab, or native king of the Carnatic district, ordered him to give up Madras, Dupleix's answer was to send out a small army of trained native troops, which promptly put to flight the great disorderly array of the Indian prince. A British fleet directed against Pondicherry was also repulsed for the moment, and then the *Peace of Aachen* in Europe checked his triumphant career, and obliged him to return the fruit of his victory.

The period that elapsed before the outbreak of the Seven

Years' War forms the second act of the drama of Indian Empire.

The quarrels of the native princes now became for Dupleix the means by which French supremacy was to be won.

Almost at the same moment rival rulers were fighting for the throne of Hyderabad, capital of the Deccan, and for the Carnatic, where British interests were strong. When Dupleix took up the cause of the one, the British company was forced to take up that of the other, and so the quarrel between France and Britain was carried on, even in time of peace. At first, all the advantage lay with the sepoys of the French governor, and Dupleix was able in triumph to set up native rulers of his own choice in the Deccan and the Carnatic. The British had lost consistently, and were in a very critical position, for if the French became supreme in the Carnatic, Madras must go.

By the year 1751 their only hope lay in the endurance of the native chieftain whom the British were backing in that region; and hitherto this prince had barely held his own against the rival set up by Dupleix. It was the courage and daring of a young clerk of the Company, Robert Clive, that changed the aspect of affairs. With an absurdly small force Clive seized *Arcot* (1751), the capital of the Carnatic, winning not only the town but the alliance of the powerful Mahratta chieftains, who had waited to see which side could fight best. A year later French and native forces surrendered before Trichinopoly, and the British were masters of the Carnatic, with a native "puppet" prince as nominal ruler.

Still, however, the French were supreme in the Deccan; still Dupleix was a force to be reckoned with. But in 1754 a short-sighted French Government, grudging the expense of maintaining a native army, recalled the most able servant in their employ, thus ending the second stage of the Anglo-French struggle.

The third period of the conflict was fought out during the *Seven Years' War in Europe.*

The cause of this international struggle, in which all the Great Powers of Europe took a hand, was the growing dread of the rapid rise of Prussia under Frederic the Great. Russia, Poland, and Saxony were near enough to fear his aggression. France, under Louis XV., was prepared to support a Catholic Power against a too successful Protestant rival prince, in the hope of striking a blow at Britain. These various

states rallied to the side of the Empress Marie-Thérèse, whose determination to regain her lost province of Silesia was the ostensible cause of the war. For Silesia, the home of a great linen industry, was an important source of wealth to the ruler of that country.

§ 6. **The Policy of William Pitt.**—Britain at this time, under the ministry of the Duke of Newcastle, was going through a period of mismanagement which kept the nation in a state of constant unrest. Rumours of the Austro-French alliance were interpreted as a preliminary to a great invasion of Britain on behalf of the Stuart cause; no one quite knew what part Hanover would play in the coming war, and almost without realizing all that it implied, the Government found itself practically forced into alliance with Prussia against the empress, whose cause it had taken up so warmly twelve years earlier. War was declared in 1756, and almost immediately Minorca fell into the hands of France. This loss not only caused Admiral Byng to be shot on his own quarter-deck: it brought into prominence the only able man of the time, William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham.

The policy of Pitt was clear, though it took nearly two years to get it accepted by the Government: Prussia must be supported, because the one chance for the comparatively small forces of Britain was the absorption of the vast army of France in a struggle by land, which would leave the British navy free to operate by sea. For Pitt was almost the only man in England to realize that the most important phases of the war, as far as his own country was concerned, were about to be fought in India and America, and therefore France must be prevented from sending forces overseas to the help of her colonies in those countries. The part played by Britain in this war was to lead directly to the extension of her own empire, though at first that part was not a very active one in Europe as far as actual fighting was concerned. But her wealth provided the "sinews of war" for Frederic, and in the third year of warfare she was able also to prove the prowess of her arms both by sea and land.

That year, 1759, has been called the most glorious in the annals of British history. "One is forced to ask every morning what new victory there is for fear of missing one," said Horace Walpole, the son of the man who, in earlier days, had amassed the money on which the war was won. The French

army was defeated at *Minden* by Hanoverian and British troops, the French fleet was practically destroyed by the two naval victories at *Lagos* and *Quiberon Bay*.

The death of George II. in 1760 hastened the end of the war in Europe, for Pitt was not in the confidence of the new king, who turned a deaf ear to his representations. In vain he urged that to leave the war half fought meant a new war, with Spain added to the list of Britain's foes. In 1761 he was forced to resign in favour of Lord Bute. Still, however, the influence of the man who had roused Britain from her sleep of self-satisfied inertia made itself felt; and before the peace party, led by Bute, had actually deserted their Prussian ally, Pitt's chosen admirals and generals had captured Havana and Manila in the Philippine Islands from Spain, now the ally of France, as well as a number of islands in the West Indies.

All this, however, is unimportant compared with the struggle in India and Canada.

§ 7. **The Struggle for India.**—Before war had even been declared, the contest was renewed between the British and French East India Companies, and with the native princes who sided with the latter. In the struggle that ensued, Clive could count on very little aid from the home Government, which cared little for what it still looked on as a mere "affair of the Company." So that the success of the British was largely due to the fact that France was kept too busy in Europe to support her cause in India.

The first move in the conflict was made in 1756, when Clive, now Governor of Fort St. David, near Madras, heard of the awful fate that had overtaken the British merchants in Fort William, just outside Calcutta. There the Nawab of the province of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, in sympathy with the French, had punished an attempt to fortify the little settlement by shutting up one hundred and forty-five men and one woman in a tiny airless room. In the morning all but twenty-three had died of suffocation in that Black Hole of Calcutta.

At once Clive marched upon the native town, and, having freed the settlement, turned to meet the vast forces of the Nawab at *Plassey* (1757). The victory that followed really decided the fate of India. Bereft of native allies, the French surrendered, in 1761, their most important settlement, Pondicherry, having by that time lost most of their other trading

stations. When the *Treaty of Paris* ended the war in Europe, Britain had so definitely gained the upper hand in India that it was a safe policy to restore to France her "factories," without garrisons and for trade purposes alone.

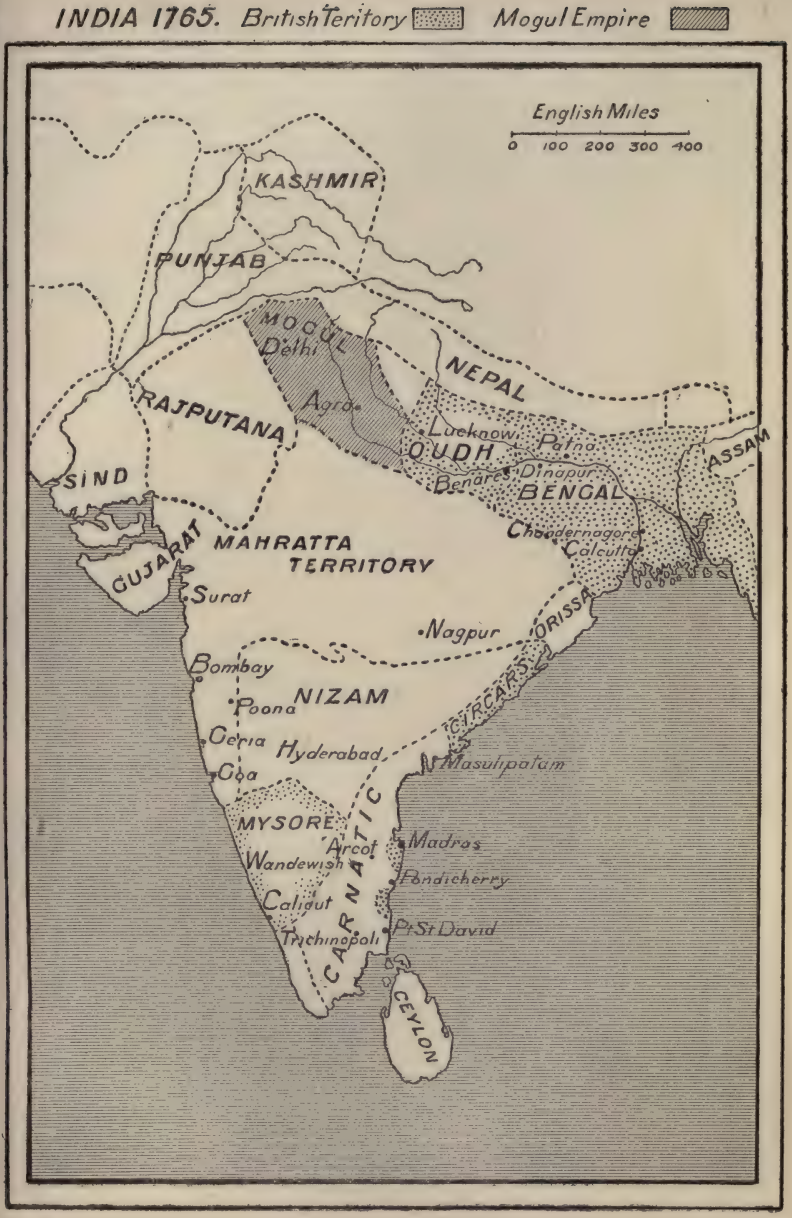
The last act in the story of Britain's winning of supremacy in India must be very briefly sketched.

The task of organizing that vast and loosely governed country in the eighteenth century fell first to Clive, then to Warren Hastings, and then to Lord Cornwallis, who was the first to rule India as the representative of the British Empire instead of as the servant of the Company.

It was the work of Clive to make the Company responsible for the government of the whole district of North-Eastern India, and for the management of the "vassal princes," who still nominally held sway. He did much to reform both the military and civil services, especially in the way of preventing the system of bribing officials, and of secret negotiations between these and the natives. Yet he himself, like his successor, was not untainted by a practice which had become an ingrained custom in the East. Impeached for bribery, probably with good reason, he was acquitted, but he never recovered from the disgrace of the accusation, or it may be from remorse. He died by his own hand in 1774.

The previous year had seen the first step taken to bring India under the direct government of the Crown. By the *Regulation Act* of Lord North, then Prime Minister, Parliament appointed a Governor-General and a Council of Four to rule over Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The Company, however, was still responsible for the actual government of these provinces, though under Parliamentary control.

The first Governor-General was Warren Hastings, who had to deal not only with a revolting Rajah of Mysore and a powerful confederacy of Mahratta chieftains, but also with his own disloyal Council and a Company that only cared for "increased dividends." Hard-pressed on every side, there is little doubt that Hastings lapsed occasionally from the high standard he was trying to set up in the country, by extorting money from native princes and allowing them to raise money for his needs by disgraceful methods. The *Mysore War* (1778–1781) was a desperate attempt of the French to recover their lost position by the aid of Hyder Ali, Rajah of Mysore, who ravaged the Carnatic up to the walls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Surat
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NIZAM
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of Madras. But when his career ended soon after his defeat at *Porto Novo* (1781), Hastings could turn his attention to more constructive work. It was his achievement to hold firm against threatening native powers the provinces that Clive had won, to organize vast districts which had forgotten the very meaning of administration, and to give equal justice to natives and to foreigners.

On his return to England in 1786, he, like his predecessor, was attacked by the home Government, and impeached for "bribery and corruption." This famous trial lasted for seven years and is interesting as making a step towards reform of these all too common practices. Hastings himself, however, was honourably acquitted on every point, a verdict given more in accordance with policy than strict justice.

His successor, Lord Cornwallis, ruled India under a new Constitution. For in 1784 Pitt's *India Bill* took the responsibility of government out of the Company's hands and gave it to a "Board of Control" and a Governor-General appointed by the Crown. The Company, however, continued to make appointments until 1858, when the entire control was taken over by the Crown.

The name of Cornwallis is famous not only for his victory over the Sultan Tippoo of Mysore, which finally broke the power of the native princes; it was he who made the *Perpetual Settlement of Bengal*, an arrangement by which the native landowners held their property from the British Government in return for a fixed rent. The justice of this may not be obvious, but it certainly gave Britain a hold over the country such as had been impossible in earlier days.

We have seen how a comparatively small number of trading stations had developed into a great Empire. Let us now turn back to the story of the Seven Years' War in North America.

§ 8. **The Struggle for Canada.**—"I am conquering Canada on the plains of Germany" was the reason Pitt gave for forcing Britain into alliance with Prussia against France. The preliminary stage of that conquest lay south of the River St. Lawrence, however, where the French governor of Canada, Duquesne, had been trying to connect the rich lowlands of Louisiana, at the mouth of the Mississippi, by a line of forts with the great French colony in the north.

The effect of this would have been to shut up the thirteen little British colonies stretching from Georgia in the south

to Nova Scotia in the north, between the line of the Alleghany Mountains and the seacoast, with no chance of expansion and at the mercy of a very dangerous neighbour.

The outbreak of the *Seven Years' War*, in the year that saw the loss of *Minorca* and the tragedy of the *Black Hole of Calcutta*, saw also the loss of two important outposts on the north-west frontier of the colonies in America. If Montcalm, the able French commander, could but count on reinforcements from France, the British American colonies were doomed.

It was then that Pitt's policy came into working order. Not only did he keep the French armies fully occupied in Germany, but he also carried the war into the enemy's own colonies, and struck at the heart of Canada herself.

Quebec, the key to Canada, crowns the steep headland of the *Heights of Abraham* that slope up from the St. Lawrence. It was therefore an almost impregnable position that was attacked by Wolfe, a youthful commander of thirty years of age. The attempt cost the lives of himself and his brave opponent Montcalm, but when Quebec had fallen into British hands it took but a year to reduce the whole of Canada and to bring almost to nothing the power of the French in North America.

In 1763 the *Peace of Paris* ended the Seven Years' War, with the following results:

In *America* France gave up all her colonies to Britain except *Louisiana*.

In *India* she regained her trading stations, but was not allowed to fortify them.

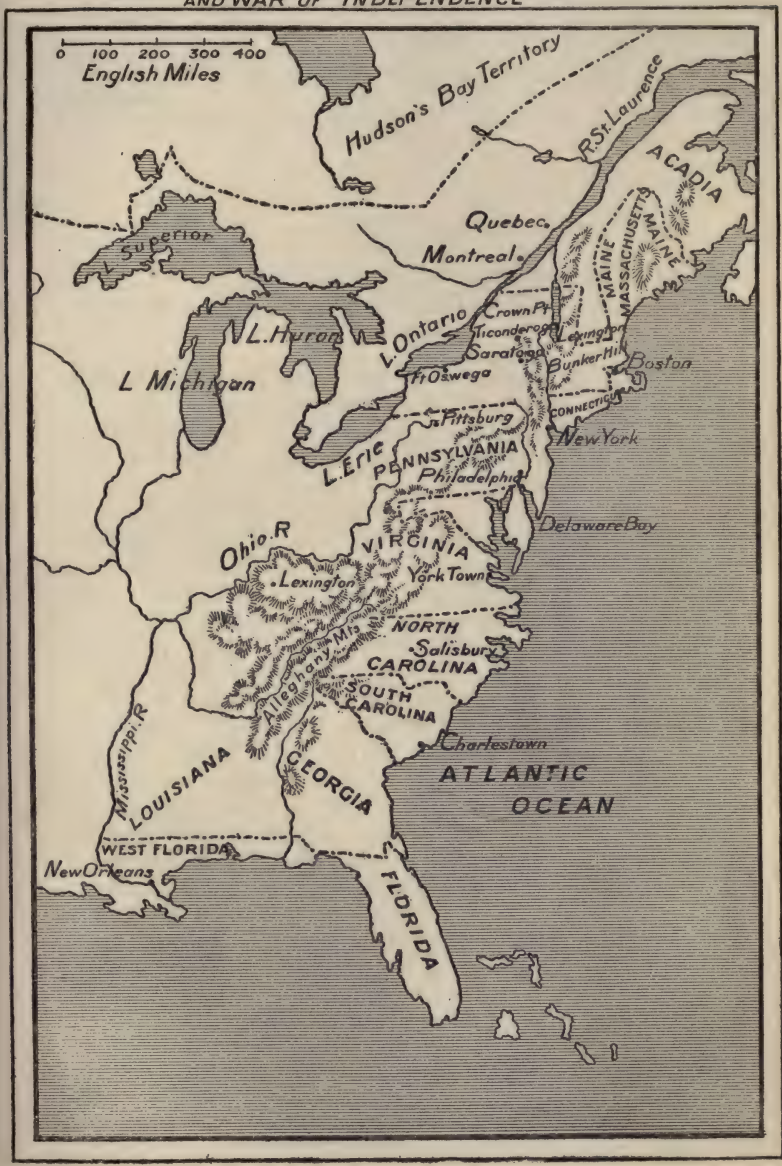
In the *West Indies* the more important islands fell to the share of Britain; *Belleisle* was exchanged for *Minorca*, and *Havana* was given back to Spain in exchange for *Florida*.

Thus Great Britain had established her supremacy, not only in America and India, but also on the high seas, by the middle years of the eighteenth century.

EXERCISES

1. What was the real importance to Britain of the Seven Years' War? Give its causes and results.
2. What steps were taken in this period towards gaining the "Supremacy of the sea"? What, exactly, does this mean?
3. Give the main stages in the winning of the Indian Empire.
4. Compare the policies of Walpole and Pitt.

NORTH AMERICA to illustrate SEVEN YEARS WAR AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE



5. How was Canada won? Find out some interesting details about Wolfe that are not given here.

6. Explain the names *Whig* and *Tory*, with reference to the history of this time.

7. Tell the story of the "Forty-Five."

CHAPTER XVI

REVOLUTION: POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL—THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1760–1815)

General Survey—*Character of the Later Eighteenth Century.*—Now that we have emerged from the long tale of wars in which the middle years of this period were absorbed, we may use the breathing-space of peace afforded by the first fifteen years of the reign of George III. (1760–1775) to note some of the main features of the century.

The eighteenth century was both in its literature and in its social and political life an Age of Prose. Material comfort, worldly prosperity, orderly procedure, were the highest aims of most of those who made up the great Whig aristocratic party, by which the nation was governed, rather than represented, in Parliament. No lofty aim, no romantic ideal was allowed to spoil the neat effects, the leisured calm of these worthy men. With the exception of the brief outbreak of Bolingbroke early in the period, and the brilliant but hopeless episode of the Rebellion of the "Forty-Five," the first half of the century, as far as the home country was concerned, was singularly flat, uninspired and commercial in its outlook. It is impossible not to see in this the results, slowly working themselves out, of the great upheaval of the sixteenth century. The reaction and religious confusion of the years that immediately followed the Reformation had created for a time a spiritual excitement, which had disguised the effect of loss. But later there came the settling down to a period of acquiescence in a State Church which awoke no enthusiasm and set forth no ideals, and which came to be identified by the uneducated mass of the people with the dignified body of wealthy squires and landowners who held the reins of government. Indifference to religion, leading only too often to entire loss

of faith in Christianity of any type, is the distinctive mark of this period.

§ 1. **Agricultural Conditions.**—As the years passed, however, the powers wielded by these autocratic landowners and country gentlemen began, slowly but surely, to pass to the wealthy capitalists and employers of labour who represented the mercantile and trading interests. Sir Roger de Coverley is the typical squire of the earlier period, who, in the midst of the Sunday morning service, "calls out to one John Matthews to mind what he is about. . . . This John Matthews being an idle fellow . . . at that moment kicking his heels for his own diversion." This worthy, who leaves the church between a double row of his bowing tenants, gradually gives place to the rich manufacturer, such as Sir George Strickland of Baynton, of whose woollen manufactory a writer of the year 1768 says, "This is a noble undertaking. . . . In this country the poor have no other employment than a most imperfect agriculture. *Consequently three-quarters of the women and children were not employed.* It was this induced Sir George to found a building large enough to contain on one side a row of looms and on the other a space for the women and children to spin."

When such conditions of work were forced upon the countryside by inadequate wages and unproductive toil on the land, the smallholder, or yeoman farmer, once the backbone of England, began to disappear. A reliable eyewitness[1] tells us that by the year 1793 the latter had become "exceeding rare, owing to the building up of large estates between the years 1720 and 1785 by purchase by wealthy traders."

Hence we find again and again that the price of the prosperity of the period was paid for at the cost of the freedom of the peasant. In the early years of the century the latter lived on his own "holding," brewed his own beer, spun his sheep's wool and tanned its skin for leather, ground his corn, and killed and salted down his pig or his cow. No doubt his life was hard and his food none too plentiful, for crops were poor and much of the land was not only uncultivated, but afforded a very scanty pasturage for the village cattle. It was, however, a sorry day for the labourer and the yeoman when the rich traders enclosed their pasture grounds. After 1760, says Arthur Young, "open fields and commons were

[1] Arthur Young.

mostly swept away," leaving the word "common" to be used for such rough tracts of furze and heather as were only fit for the haunts of the highwaymen who beset the traveller of those days.

§ 2. **The Industrial Revolution.**—When the country squire developed into a townsman with a country house which was closed most of the year, the field labourer, left without employment, also turned his face townwards. At the beginning of the reign of George III. the most densely populated regions of England were the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Wilts, Northampton, and Oxford—all agricultural and wool-producing districts. At the end of the reign the crowded parts were the towns of Lancashire, Staffordshire, Warwick, and Middlesex, and the great shipbuilding cities at the mouth of the Thames, Humber, Tyne, Forth, and Clyde. When this was the case, the Industrial Revolution was well afoot.

The Industrial Revolution (1750–1820). Curiously enough, this vast social change, which completely altered not only the life of the nation, but also the face of the country itself, was peacefully accomplished during some of the most stormy years that Europe has ever known. It was, in itself, a revolution of industry, the practical result of the scientific discoveries of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a result which was to make England the richest commercial nation in Europe.

This revolution took the form of a change of system, which not only freed each trade from checks on competition, but substituted machines and factories for handwork and home industries. The whole of this system was built up on the fact that, owing to lack of charcoal, through the growing dearth of forest land in Sussex and Hampshire, the iron-smelting industry had been transferred to the region of the Northern and Midland coalfields, where not only was iron ore to be found, but where it could be "smelted" on the spot in a furnace of coal without waiting for the transformation of wood into charcoal. With plenty of iron at command there followed the invention of machines, small at first, for handworkers, but later on, large machines that needed the work of a considerable number of "hands," massed together in a factory or mill. At first, these latter had depended on water for the driving power of their machinery, but after Watt's discovery of the use of steam, isolated mills gave way to factories, crowded

together as near the coalfields as was practicable, and these became the nucleus of great manufacturing towns such as Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham.

Thus "the steam-engine followed coal, manufactures followed the steam-engine, and population followed manufactures"; and the whole character of Britain was gradually transformed from a purely agricultural to an industrial country. We shall realize the change better if we remember that, at the beginning of the century, the importation of cotton from America had been looked upon as a disastrous menace to the woollen trade. Severe checks upon this industry had been imposed by Parliament, which ordained that people should be buried in woollen in place of cotton shrouds, and forbade the wearing of print frocks.

It was the influence of William Pitt the Younger that popularized the doctrine of "free" industry and allowed each manufacture to flourish in its own way.

Again, in the earlier years of the century we get this description of wool manufacture from a writer of that time: "The manufacture is conducted by a multitude of master manufacturers . . . possessing a very small amount of capital. They buy the wool of the dealer, and in their own homes, assisted by their wives and children, they dye it and work it into undressed cloth . . . and carry it on market day to a public market where the merchants repair to purchase."

After the middle of the century, we find instead of this arrangement, a "capitalist" clothier with his factory and machinery. When the spinning-machines of Hargreaves and Arkwright and Cartwright appeared during the years 1767–1785, the small manufacturer disappeared and became the "hand," who merely guided the machine. Looked at from one point of view, this Industrial Revolution was to the good, for within a period of about twenty years it raised Britain from a depressed condition of trade, with an exhausted treasury and a very poor reputation abroad, to a state of wealth and prosperity that made it more than possible to hold her own in a great Continental war.

But from another point of view we see the artisan, no longer a free labourer and producer, but part of a vast machine, badly housed in hastily built slums, with long hours of toil, no education, and so small a share of freedom that he was little better than a slave. It was, perhaps, inevitable that

so complete a change, so rapidly accomplished, should bring such drawbacks in its train, but the way was thus prepared for a social revolution in the future, equally inevitable and far-reaching.

§ 3. **Political Survey, 1760–1815—Wilkes and the "North Briton."**—The second marked change that occurred in this part of the century was connected more closely with the method of government. In George III.'s policy we see a curious reaction to the "divine right" theory of a previous period. His aim was to set up a system of personal rule as arbitrary as that of the early Stuarts, with a Parliament subordinate to his will. He succeeded so far that, ten years after his accession, he had overthrown the Whig Government, broken up existing political parties, and substituted for the "Cabinet" a "departmental system" by which each Minister of a department was responsible to the Crown. In this he was supported by the former peace party, led by Lord Bute, the opponent of Pitt, a tactless Scots peer who soon earned for himself the intense dislike of the nation, and by Lord North, a dull and pompous person, whose one idea was to increase the power of the Crown at the expense of the liberty of the people.

During these ten years, however, we get one instance of determined revolt against the high-handed proceedings of the king, and against the class tyranny of his chosen party. It came, as we should expect, from town rather than country, and its leader was John Wilkes, a typical citizen of the London of that day. As the manager of a newspaper, the *North Briton*, and as member of Parliament, he could make his voice heard twice over in his denunciations of Lord Bute and his pungent criticisms of the king's proceedings, and his rough face and rugged figure were always to be found among the crowd of citizens which collected daily to hoot the Minister's coach in the London streets.

Imprisoned in the Tower for what we should now call *lèse-majesté*, Wilkes was released on his appeal to the *Habeas Corpus Act* of Charles II.'s reign, and henceforth could pose as a persecuted patriot. His expulsion by a subservient Parliament from the House made him also a popular hero, and the London streets rang with cries of "Wilkes and Liberty." Nothing would silence him, though for a time he was forced, for safety's sake, to flee to France. When he returned, four

years later, his election as member for Middlesex was the signal for a struggle between the Londoners and the king's party, in which the latter got badly hit by the letters of one "Junius," a mysterious personality, who did much to bring the royal pretensions to a downfall.

Again expelled from the House for a bitter attack on the Ministry, Wilkes was promptly re-elected. But his seat had been hastily filled by one of the king's "creatures," and London rang with the news that the Parliament had been "bought" by His Majesty. Finally, the Commons were obliged to give way and receive the "people's champion" into the House, and thus the undignified struggle came to an end.

The most important effect of this somewhat sordid affair was that the custom of holding "mass meetings," to consider the business of the nation, now became common. Thus, when political matters, instead of being discussed exclusively by politicians, became a topic of conversation of the "man in the street," the door was thrown open to all that is meant by the movement towards "radicalism and reform" in the next century.

For one year of this stormy interlude (1766) Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, had tried to steer the helm of the State. But he was now long past his prime, and soon had to confine his energies to railing in the Upper House against the inefficiency of the Ministry. By the year 1770 the Whigs had fallen from power, and a new Tory party, led by Lord North, was intent upon supporting the autocratic policy of the king. The most striking result of this was seen in the American Revolution.

§ 4. **American Revolution** (1765–1783).—The general cause of the revolt of the American colonies was a perfectly reasonable demand that the colonists should bear some of the burden of the late war on their behalf, and that they should help to keep up a military force to defend their extended borders. The right to tax had never been denied to the mother-country; the tax proposed, if annoying, was not oppressive, and there was no question of restrictions of old-established rights.

On the other hand, Britain knew very little about her colonies save as a market for her goods and a convenient place of production, mainly by means of slave labour. She never troubled to realize that difference of origin, of race,

of faith, made it impossible to impose a fair method of taxation on states that differed so widely as Catholic Maryland and Puritan New England—states, moreover, that had no share in representative government at home. She did not know, apparently, that for years past a large amount of self-government had more than suggested the advantage of being independent of a mother-country that had done remarkably little for the encouragement or development of the states.

Yet even in the time immediately preceding the revolt, discontent was not very widespread. The revolution, as is so often the case in such movements, was the work of a small minority, and would have had no chance of success if Britain had risen to the occasion, granted self-government or adequate representation in Parliament, and asked for aid in bearing a common burden of defence.

Instead of this, an aristocratic Ministry that looked on colonies as useful but troublesome necessities, imposed a tax of an irritating nature, and at once America retaliated by declaring that "taxation and representation must go together." The tax on stamped paper was imposed for a year by the Prime Minister, Grenville, was never paid, and was taken off in 1766 when Pitt came into power. Two years later, when the trouble seemed to have died down, the system of coercion was revived by the ill-judged propositions of Charles Townshend, a clever, showy minister, who not only imposed a customs duty on tea and paper, glass and lead, but enforced some dead-letter laws to restrict the commerce of America.

At once the various states resolved to unite, not at first for independence, but for resistance against measures which threatened their trade. Boston took the first step by boycotting British imports, and the British Government's reply was to despatch vessels of war to force entry to the port. Then the little state of Massachusetts called upon the other colonial "Assemblies," or petty parliaments, to join with her in resistance, on which Britain dissolved her Assembly and those of all others who had joined her.

Thus stroke and counterstroke followed each other, till, in 1770, the Ministry of Lord North, somewhat alarmed at results, repealed all taxes save that on tea.

The first act of this particular drama had closed in favour of the colonists. But the next five years saw a series of petty

annoyances that kept up bad blood between the two countries. For example, smugglers in *Rhode Island* burnt the revenue ship *Jasper* and set the crew adrift; and shortsighted British Ministers were not satisfied till they had ruined the colonial postmaster, Franklin, the most popular man in America, when he exposed the treachery of the English governor of Massachusetts towards the colonists.

The immediate cause of revolt, however, borders on the ridiculous. Since the tax on tea, there had been so small a demand for that beverage that the storehouses of the East India Company were bursting with surplus stock. In consequence, it was resolved to ship it off to America, even if the Company itself had to pay the tax. But the angry colonists would have none of it. Some of the ships were not allowed to land; some of the ports left it to "rot in the cellars of the customs house." At Boston a crowd of men, disguised as Red Indians, boarded the ships, bound the crews to the bulwarks, and hurled £18,000 worth of tea into the harbour.

In the British Parliament this outrage created a tremendous sensation. Coercion was urged by General Gage, who declared that "the Americans would be lions only if we were lambs." In spite of the opposition of Chatham, the old War Minister who declared that "a time was at hand when England would need the help of her most distant friends," it was decided by the *Penal Acts* to close the port of Boston, and to send as governor of Massachusetts the martinet General Gage, with unlimited power to deal with the recalcitrant Assembly.

At this critical moment, a perfectly just and necessary step taken by the home Government served to embitter the situasion still further. In 1774 the *Quebec Act*, in consideration of the great majority of French Catholics in Canada, established the Catholic religion and restored French as well as British law to the courts of justice.

At once the bigoted Puritan states of the North loudly resented this acknowledgment of "Papists," and complained that it was a covert attack upon their own "freedom" of faith. A just measure thus became a new cause of offence against Britain, but it also had the not unimportant effect of keeping Canada loyal to the Motherland in the struggle at hand.

Meantime, the first effect of the *Penal Acts* against the

colonists of Massachusetts was to make them call the Congress of *Philadelphia*, at which nearly all the colonies united to declare the "Acts" illegal. Yet even at that critical moment the Congress clearly stated that it had no desire for separation from the mother-country. Such a course, however, became inevitable after the first year of the armed resistance now declared against unconditional taxation. This year (1775) was marked by no very striking success on the part of the somewhat inefficient British troops sent over to intimidate the undisciplined, ragged, and ill-armed colonial army; but, on the other hand, nothing could have been hoped from the latter, "whose forces melted away before one's eyes," had it not been for the extraordinary enthusiasm inspired by their indefatigable leader, George Washington. Even with that behind the colonies, some special spur to enterprise and union was necessary, and this was supplied by George III., when he paid some of the petty princes of Germany to send foreign troops against men of British race, whom he persisted in describing as "insurgents." At once the character of the resistance changed.

On *July* 4, 1776, a Congress met to sign a *Declaration of Independence*, demanding absolute separation from Britain, and binding together the different colonies into the *United States of America*. Not that the outlook was encouraging, for Lord Howe, who had been forced to evacuate Boston early in the year, now held New York, and in 1777 defeated Washington at *Brandywine*, and took *Philadelphia*. Then came a sudden turn of events. A fortnight later the forces of General Burgoyne, which were advancing from Canada upon the army of the Northern states, were surrounded at *Saratoga* and forced to surrender by General Gates. This was the turning-point of the war in favour of the colonists.

The Second Period of the War, 1778–1779.—The success of the Americans at Saratoga had the immediate effect of bringing in the alliance of France, who had been long on the watch for a chance of avenging herself on Britain for her losses in the Seven Years' War.

At this the whole attitude of Britain changed. Hasty offers of concessions, even to the point of recognizing the independence of the States, were made by a Government that had lately sneered at the "rebellion in Massachusetts." Only the pathetic voice of Chatham, very near his end,

pleaded against the "dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." Almost immediately after this occasion, he was carried from the House in a fit of apoplexy and soon afterwards died. The day had passed for reconciliation, however, and Britain found herself at war with a France whose new-built navy was soon seen to be very little inferior to her own.

The Third Period, 1779–1781.—The year 1779 saw *Spain* in alliance with *France* and *America*; and now there was no question but that the allied fleets of the House of Bourbon were not only far superior to that of Britain, but that the struggle would have to be fought out by sea.

In 1780 the position of the mother-country became still more desperate.

Russia, Sweden, and Denmark formed an "Armed Neutrality" to prevent British ships from confiscating goods conveyed in neutral ships to the enemy; and *Holland* threw in her lot with them. By the end of the year Britain was at war, not only with her colonists in America, but with France, Spain, Holland, and the "Northern Powers." The fate of India was trembling in the balance, Gibraltar was besieged, the Indies threatened, and Ireland on the point of following the example of the States.

In the early part of 1781 one part of the British Empire was dissevered for ever from the mother-country. The English general, Cornwallis, had taken up a position at *Yorktown*, on Chesapeake Bay, from which he could communicate only by sea with the other English army at New York. The French fleet, under de Grasse, cut this line of communication, and took up its station in the Bay, while Washington, meantime, advanced by land. Surrender was inevitable, and with the fall of *Yorktown* the war came to a triumphant end, as far as the States were concerned (1781).

The Fourth Period—The Sea Struggle with the Bourbons, 1782–1783.—Still, however, Britain was faced with such a struggle by sea with the allied fleets of Spain and France, that it seemed as though she could not possibly hold out. Minorca had fallen into the hands of Spain, Gibraltar was hard pressed, and in the West Indies de Grasse was racing to join the Spanish fleet in order to seize the islands held by Britain. Then Rodney overtook him, forced a battle, and off *St. Lucia*, in the most severe contest ever fought by sea, scattered the

French fleet and broke the sea power of the Allies (1782). Gibraltar was also saved that year by the plucky resistance of Elliot and the relief brought by Howe, and in the next year (1783) all the combatants were ready to make peace.

By the *Treaty of Versailles* (1783) Britain acknowledged the *Independence of the American States*, and gave up her claim to *Minorca*. All other conquests on both sides were restored.

So we see that the king's determined bid for royal autocracy had thus far had the effect of losing a most important part of the Empire and of saddling the nation with a debt of a hundred million pounds.

§ 5. **The French Revolution.**—The formation of the American Republic had been a shock to the aristocratic Government of Great Britain, but a greater shock, and one much nearer its own shores, was in store.

During the peaceful years for Britain that followed the War of American Independence a tremendous upheaval was in process across the Channel.

During the eighteenth century the effect of the policy of Louis XIV., the glorification of the State—a State identified with himself—had been seen in the wealth, the "splendour of form," the thought, and the literature that had made France, apart from her conquests, the greatest Power of Europe. New manufactures, inventions, modern methods of agriculture had been warmly encouraged by the State; the number of free peasant proprietors had increased, and the condition of the nation, under its rule of "benevolent despotism," had become, outwardly at least, exceedingly prosperous. In reality, a system based on absolute rule, which put the "State" in place of the individual, and made everything depend on the will of a king, was rotten at the core. One example of its working may help to make this clear. The most trivial matters of local business, in those days, which could well be dealt with by what we should call the "county court," had to be transacted in the royal courts, at great expense of time and money, and, still worse, at the cost of the temper and patience of the people.

Moreover, the long and expensive wars in which France was involved throughout this century by the ambitions of Louis XV. drained the country of money, in spite of its industrial activities. We have seen how far these wars were from being

successful, and the loss of ships and men, added to the more serious loss of her colonies in India and Canada, meant a heavy taxation which did not always fall on the shoulders most able to support the burden. For the nobles who upheld the *ancien régime* of France could still claim exemption, and it was the peasant and the middle-class *bourgeois* who were called upon to pay.

No doubt the revolt of the American colonies, the writings of their own French philosophers, and the general feeling " in the air," as we say, for the rights of the individual, had much to do with the Revolution when it came. But it is one of the ironies of history that Louis XVI., the only Bourbon king who was honestly in favour of reform in every department, and who, with the aid of his finance minister, Turgot, did his best to check the Court extravagance, and to bring about a constitutional form of government, was himself to be the chief victim of the old régime he had tried to abolish.

Yet, in the light of recent research, we see very clearly that the Revolution was by no means the outbreak of a maddened peasantry, despairing of redress of their heavy burdens. The " people," indeed, were rather the tools than the movers of revolt. The whole movement, which might have been for inestimable good, seems to have been engineered by an underground conspiracy, made up of sections with widely different aims, whose one bond of union was the determination to destroy the system of monarchy.

Anarchists, of the lodges of freemasons that had sprung up of late in France and Germany, were working to destroy law and order altogether; an Orleanist faction, led by the infamous Philippe *Egalité*, cousin to the king, aimed at the governing power; the hatred of Prussia for the Austrian queen Marie Antoinette brought in a secret host of foreign spies. But so little was this realized that, from the year 1789, when the " Commons " of France formed themselves into the National Assembly and claimed to represent the nation, to the year 1792, when the king and queen were imprisoned by a bloodthirsty and fanatical mob, the attitude of Britain was one of approval. Fox, the leader of the Whig party, was, indeed, full of enthusiasm for a movement which was expected to set up a constitutional Government on the model of that of England, and create perpetual peace between the two nations. Pitt the Younger and the Tory party,

though more moderate in their expectations, promised support, in the hope that a revolution would keep France too busy to break up the peace conditions so essential to Britain at that time. It was left for Edmund Burke, a Whig, and a former ally of Fox, to sweep away the mists of optimism and to point out the horrors that were bound to come "when once separation occurs between liberty and law."

The French Revolution, 1792–1805.—In 1792 the imprisonment of the royal family became the excuse for Austria to declare war. This was the signal for an appalling massacre of the "aristocrats" who crowded the French prisons, and for the setting up of a Republic. A fortnight later the Austrians were driven across the borders, and Savoy and Nice, with a large part of the Netherlands, were seized by the insurgents.

At once the new Republic offered its alliance to any country that wished to overturn "an existing monarchy, and to set up a rule based on those three most misused words, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." "For 'Liberty' came shortly to mean the right to ignore obligations and to abolish all authority in Church or State; 'Equality' implied the right to destroy a superior; and 'Fraternity' denoted the most bitter and bloody contest between man and man that the modern world has known."[1] The outward symbol of this appeared in 1793, when the harmless young king and his beautiful queen were done to death on the guillotine, and a most cruel persecution of the old nobility, of priests, and of all suspected of being in sympathy with them, was set afoot.

§ 6. **The War of the French Revolution.**—One great mistake was made by these red revolutionaries with regard to this country. So sure were they of Pitt's known dislike for conflict, so misled were they as to the zeal of certain factions for revolution, that they declared war upon Britain in that same year (1793), fully expecting that the country would be hopelessly divided in policy. But Britain had already realized the danger of her own position, when France was threatening to fortify Antwerp, and already held the coast across the narrow strip of the North Sea. This, together with a universal horror of the anarchism rampant in Paris and elsewhere, led to a strong reaction, in which Whig joined Tory in a determination to crush anything that betokened a like spirit in this country. Unfortunately, this led to hostility

[1] Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History*.

towards anything that savoured of reform. The use of that very word became a cause of suspicion, and men who were known to approve of "Liberal" principles, or to wish for a change of any kind, in a by no means perfect Constitution, ran the risk of transportation for life.

Meantime, the policy of Pitt was more concerned with breaking the aggressive spirit of the Republic through her colonies and commerce than with dealing directly with the progress of the Revolution. The navy of Britain was, as usual, more efficient than her armies, as we see by the fact that throughout this tremendous struggle the British were practically always successful by sea, and the French by land. And, knowing this would be the case, Pitt preferred to finance the allied Powers—Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Prussia—rather than risk the loss of British armies in the field.

The First Phase of the Great War, 1793–1797.—That year (1793), then, saw France in arms against five Powers, forming what is known as the *First Coalition*. Britain and Holland were fighting for their lives against an enemy at their very gates; Prussia and Austria in defence of the principle of absolute monarchy; and Spain, because her Bourbon ruler feared a similar revolution in his own kingdom.

Yet, since the Republic represented a newly roused nation, with all her energies alert to justify her own existence, fighting against a ring of disunited and unpopular Governments, with no great leader to inspire them, the balance of power was not so unequal as it seemed.

These first four years were absorbed in a struggle whose aims were to conquer the allies of Britain; to crush her naval power; and to seize her colonies and commerce. In this France was so far successful that by the end of the year 1797 the army of the Duke of York had been beaten out of Belgium; British troops had failed to hold *Toulon*; Prussia had fallen out; Holland and Spain had become the allies of the Republic, Austria, by the *Treaty of Campo Formio*, had bought peace at the price of Belgium and Lombardy.

Only at sea, in the great naval victory off *Brest*, on the "glorious First of June," 1794, had Lord Howe retrieved the honour of his country, a feat which was repeated in the critical year 1797, when Admiral Jervis and Commodore Nelson, at *Cape St. Vincent*, broke the power of the Spanish fleet, and Duncan at *Camperdown* defeated that of Holland.

During the next period, 1797–1802, when Britain was left to fight alone against a victorious France, the aims of the latter had changed.

The last four years had seen a series of upheavals in France. Girondists, the moderate party of the Republic, had been driven out by Jacobins, extreme revolutionists, who under the leadership of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre had set up a Reign of Terror that had drenched France in blood. These had fallen in their turn, and given place to a Constitution known as the *Directory*, moderate in its policy, and strongly supported by a nation sick of bloodshed, and by an army commanded by the greatest military genius in Europe.

§ 7. **The Napoleonic Wars.**—From the year 1797 it became the ambition of this man, Napoleon Buonaparte, to rule an empire wider even than the boundaries of the Continent itself. For this end, the conquest of Britain, the seizure of India, and the overthrow of British colonial power were essential, and with these aims in view he proposed to begin by the conquest of Egypt and Syria. This would open up a road to the East, and obtain a port on the Mediterranean from which the British fleet operating in that region could be annihilated.

By one of his usual lightning strokes Egypt was overrun, and the French fleet was resting in triumph in *Aboukir Bay* at the mouth of the Nile, when Nelson descended upon it and destroyed almost the whole armament.

By this *Battle of the Nile* (1798) the British fleet not only gained the command of the Mediterranean, but cut off the army of Napoleon from hope of French aid.

Turning upon Syria, the great French general hoped to cut a way through, but was driven back by Sir Sidney Smith at *Acre* and returned to Egypt to find that the success of the British fleet had had further results. A *Second Coalition*, composed of Russia, Austria, Portugal, and Turkey, had formed against him, and at the same time the news of the success of Sir Arthur Wellesley over the French troops in India destroyed his hopes in that quarter.

Never was the genius of Napoleon more apparent than when everything seemed against him. Within a few weeks he had made his escape to Paris, overturned the amazed and inefficient Directory, and declared himself First Consul and ruler of the Republic (1799). Then, by a new series of lightning

strokes, he crushed the Austrians at *Marengo* and *Hohenlinden*, and drove them out of the Coalition. Next he managed to win over Russia to join Sweden and Denmark in an *Armed Neutrality*, which would exclude British trade from the Baltic.

Then once again came a decisive stroke from the British navy. A desperate fight for a free passage through the mouth of the Baltic ended in a victory for Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson, then his second-in-command (*Battle of the Baltic*, 1801). This led to a renewed alliance between Britain and Russia.

By this time the wearied armies of France needed a breathing-space, and in 1802 the *Treaty of Amiens* gave Britain the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad, though it left the Netherlands, the Rhinelands, and much of Italy under French rule.

The Third Period, 1802–1815.—Next year the war broke out again with new energy; and now, in open claim for world empire, the direct intention of Napoleon was to invade and crush Britain, the one obstacle in his triumphant path. Austria and Russia had also to be reckoned with, and he had used the year of truce to annex much of the kingdom of Sardinia and to occupy Switzerland; and now the refusal of the British Government to expel the French refugees was made the excuse for a war that was to be fought out by sea. It was to be the last phase in that struggle for naval supremacy which had begun in the days of the Seven Years' War, and while in Britain it was to be carried on under the auspices of William Pitt, in France the First Consul had developed into the "Emperor of the French," and democracy had vanished before the rule of a despotic monarch.

For the first two years of the struggle, *Austria* and *Russia*, weakened and dispirited, took but a small share of the fighting; and for two years Britain lived in daily fear of a great French invasion. Meantime Napoleon was content to wait, first for some chance of enticing the British navy from its watch-dog position in the Channel; then for an Irish revolt or a rebellion in India; lastly for a Spanish alliance and a Spanish fleet.

In 1805 some of these things seemed more than possibilities. Two French fleets had attacked the West Indies and thus drawn off the Mediterranean squadron, under Nelson, to that quarter. Meantime another combined Spanish and French fleet was to drive the British ships from their blockade of

Brest, set free the French ships guarding the harbour, sail up the Channel in triumph, and hold the Strait of Dover till the army at Boulogne had crossed in safety.

But here he reckoned without the genius of Nelson. Racing back from the Indies, the admiral sent a warning to the fleet before Brest to hold its position. Meantime he forced the French admiral, Villeneuve, who had taken refuge in the harbour of Cadiz, to leave the port and join battle with a combined Spanish and French fleet of thirty-eight ships. The battle of *Trafalgar Bay* (1805), fought with only twenty-seven vessels, ended in the capture or destruction of every French ship, and Britain, at the cost of the life of her most famous sailor, was freed from the danger of invasion.

Still, however, by land Napoleon seemed invincible. In that same year his victory at *Austerlitz* crushed the armies of Russia and Austria and left him practically master of Europe. "Roll up that map of Europe; it will not be wanted again these many years," said Pitt in despair. Within a few weeks the great Peace Minister was dead. He will be remembered as a man whose strength lay in a peaceful development of the country by means of economic and commercial progress, but who, when war was forced upon him, upheld the honour of the country with firm resolution, in a struggle which hindered her advance for nearly half a century. Yet his lack of judgment was sometimes remarkable, for instead of Europe being destroyed at Austerlitz, the fate of Napoleon's Imperial policy was already sealed.

When Napoleon had placed one brother on the throne of Naples and Sicily, another on that of Holland, had made himself Protector of the smaller German states—known as the Confederation of the Rhine—and had subdued Prussia at *Jena*, he seemed to have attained all but the topmost rung of his ladder of ambition. Three forces alone remained to block the final step that would see Europe at his feet. The first was the resistance of an unconquered and largely untested Russia. The second was the supremacy at sea of the English fleet, and her unique privilege of carrying the products of the world into Europe in her merchant ships. The third was the determined opposition of Spain.

Had he made Russia his ally, and left her to work out her destiny, as head of a great Eastern empire in friendly connection with the West, the fate of Napoleon might have been very

different. As it was, the Russian campaign of 1812 was one of the main reasons for his fall, for the snowclad and pathless wastes of that vast country wore down the last energies of his army and reduced it to a condition it had never known in face of a more tangible foe.

To the Emperor, the most real obstacle was Britain. As he could not fight her by sea without a more powerful navy, nor by land, since she gave him no opportunity, he now made a big attempt to destroy her commerce. It must be realized that at this period Britain was not merely the richest nation in the world; she was also the only source from which manufactured goods, machinery, and textiles could be obtained. Even the great Napoleon himself was compelled to clothe his soldiers in England. She also held the monopoly of the " carrying trade " of the world.

With the object of abolishing this state of affairs, Napoleon began his new campaign, in 1806, by issuing the *Berlin Decrees*, which aimed at closing the ports of the Continent to British vessels, thus ruining her system of *exchange;* and at closing also her foreign markets, and so destroying her *productions*. Britain promptly issued her counterstroke by the *Orders in Council*, which forbade all vessels, neutral or British, to trade with any French port or with French allies. She knew that Europe could not do without her supplies, and this first blow of Napoleon had for its effect only a vast increase in smuggling all over the Continent, which ran up the price of British goods to her advantage and to the loss of the allies of France.

§ 8. **Peninsular War,** 1808–1814.—Indirectly, the " Decrees " led also to the Peninsular War. For it was the refusal of Portugal to obey them that led to her being overrun by the invading army of the French, and the consequent appearance on the scene of Sir Arthur Wellesley, at the head of English troops.

The chief cause of this Peninsular War, however, was the high-handed policy of Napoleon in placing his brother Joseph upon the Spanish throne. To do this, he had taken advantage of a quarrel between the Bourbon king and his heir, and, utterly misunderstanding the character of the Spanish people, thought it a fit opportunity for " stirring up the Spaniards," as he himself declared. But here he met with a new kind of resistance, from a people who hated all foreigners, under whatever aspect they appeared. It was his want of realizing

the true spirit of both Russia and Spain that was to bring about the fall of the Emperor himself.

The first year of the war saw Portugal freed from French troops by the *Convention of Cintra*, which, after Wellesley's success at the battle of *Vimiera*, allowed the French to evacuate the country. Napoleon's reply to this was to overrun Spain in an attempt to "drive the British leopard into the sea," and Lisbon would have been taken, had not Sir John Moore drawn off the French army to *Corunna*, where, at the moment of victory, he was killed.

§ 9. **Progress of the War.**—During the next three years the three main lines of development were as follows:

1. In 1809 Austria, trusting that Napoleon was fully occupied in Spain, attempted, with the aid of English money, to throw off his yoke. After the defeat of Austria at *Wagram*, the chief effect of this was to rouse the anxiety of Russia as to her own future fate and to strengthen her forces against invasion.

2. Another result of this spurt of Austrian energy was to bring into the conflict a large body of English troops who, in her support, set out to capture Antwerp and thus to regain for her the Low Countries. But by the mismanagement of British statesmen the army was not sent till after Austria had capitulated, and the whole force was left to rot on the *Island of Walcheren*. Most of the troops perished by sickness, others in the failure to force the mouth of the Scheldt. The small remnant returned defeated and disgraced.

3. Meantime, in the Peninsula, the defensive tactics of Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, were slowly but surely wearing down the resistance of the French armies. Unable to depend upon home support, he at first had to be content with snatching victories at *Talavera* (1809), and *Busaco* (1810), while meantime keeping the foe in play from behind the lines of *Torres Vedras*, by which Lisbon was protected.

But when Napoleon, in his new-formed plan of conquering Russia, withdrew some of his troops, Wellington's chance had arrived.

Within the next two years he had stormed *Ciudad Rodrigo* and *Badajoz*, the two most important fortresses in Spain, and his victory at *Salamanca* left Madrid in his hands. In that same year (1812) the expedition of the Emperor to Moscow

ended in bitter failure, and he had to hurry back his disheartened troops to face a Europe in revolt. More regiments had to be recalled from Spain, and this gave Wellington his final opportunity. Utterly routing the French at *Vittoria*, he drove the remnants across the Pyrenees and defeated Marshal Soult at *Toulouse* (1814), just six months after the French armies in Central Europe had met with decisive defeat in the " Battle of the Nations " at *Leipzig* (October, 1813).

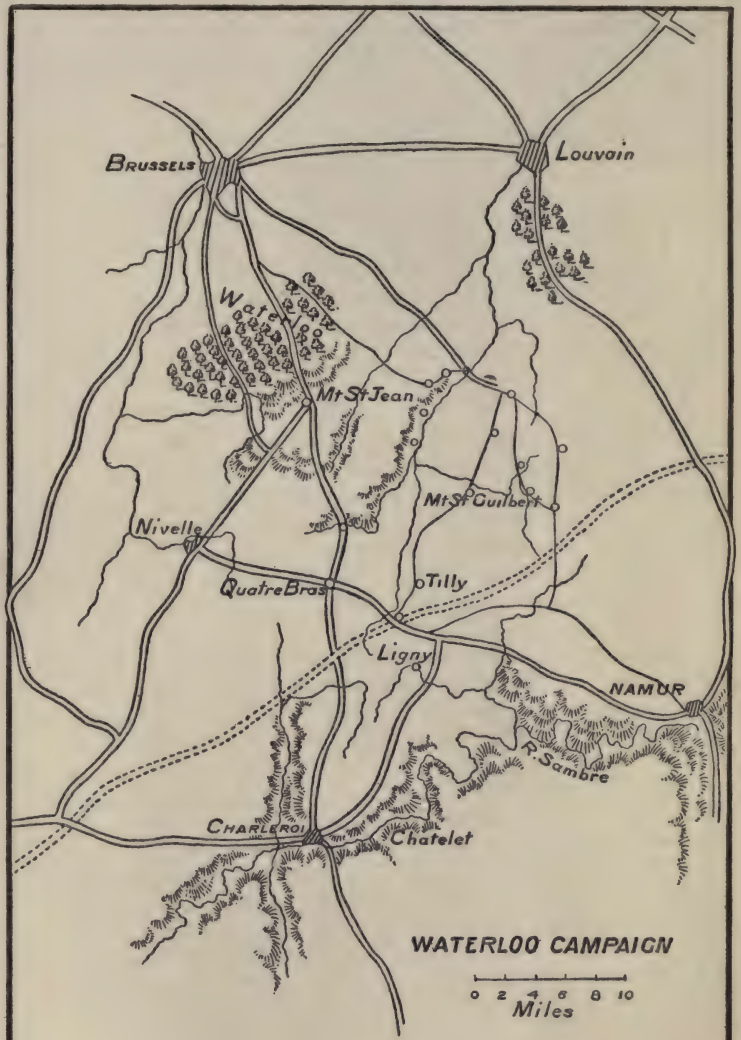
Three days before the victory at Toulouse, Napoleon, a beaten man, had abdicated, and had retired into exile to the island of Elba.

The *First Treaty of Paris*, 1814, drawn up by the Congress of states which met to settle the affairs of a disorganized Europe, at once restored the Bourbon monarchy to France in the person of Louis XVIII., brother of the late king. Britain gained *Malta*, the *Cape of Good Hope*, and *Mauritius*. France was limited in extent to the boundaries of 1792.

§ 10. **The Last Phase.**—While these terms were under discussion, the news of the escape of the Emperor, and his appearance at the head of his veteran troops, shook Europe to her foundations. Paris, restless at the prospect of a Bourbon rule, received him gladly, and for a hundred days he again ruled as Emperor.

Meantime every state of Europe prepared for the last act of the long conflict. Those first in the field were a Prussian army under Blücher, stationed along a line from Liège to Charleroi, and a mixed force of Hanoverians, Belgians, Dutch, Germans, and English, under Wellington, stretching from Charleroi to the sea.

The failure of Marshal Ney to take *Quatre Bras* and to hem in the British round Brussels was counterbalanced by Napoleon's success over Blücher at *Ligny*. But this did not prevent the latter from leading off his troops in good order to join those of the English on the field of *Waterloo*. Before he had time to do so, however, a desperate struggle was taking place between the mixed troops, many of them raw and undisciplined levies, of Wellington and the trained forces of the Emperor. The former was depending much on Prussian assistance, but this came much later than he expected; and the fact that he held his own against heavy odds till they appeared really settled the fate of the battle (June 18, 1815).


Brussels
Louvain
Waterloo
Mt St Jean
Mt St Guilbert
Nivelle
Quatre Bras
Tilly
Ligny
NAMUR
R. Sambre
Charleroi
Chatelet
WATERLOO CAMPAIGN
0 2 4 6 8 10
Miles

After the rout of his forces Napoleon fled headlong, and less than a month later had given himself into the hands of the foes he had fought almost incessantly for the past twenty years.

In the far-off island of St. Helena, among the mists and storms of the Atlantic, the conqueror of Europe dragged out an embittered existence till his death, in 1821.

The Napoleonic Wars are wont to absorb so much attention that we are prone to forget the constructive work of the Emperor within his own country; and though this is not the place to enter into details, it must be realized that his gifts to a disorganized and revolutionary France had been those of order, prosperity, and efficiency, notwithstanding that these were heavily handicapped by the exhaustion and humiliation which followed his final failure.

§ 11. **The Peace Congress.**—The Congress of Vienna, which met in 1815 to settle the affairs of Europe, was, unfortunately, dominated by a selfish and reactionary spirit, and its decisions, though they laid the foundations of a new modern Europe, were almost all reversed during the century that followed. Belgium was joined to Holland, under the rule of the Prince of Orange, in order to strengthen the barrier against Northern France. Prussia was allowed to annex the Rhine Provinces, regardless of differences of faith and race. The republics of Nice and Genoa were forced, against their will, to join Savoy and Piedmont, under the King of Sardinia.

The thirty-nine states of Germany were knit loosely together in a Confederation. Poland was parcelled out between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Finland fell to the share of Russia. Norway was joined to Sweden. Italy, rent into nine parts, had to cede Lombardy to Austria, and became, as the great Austrian Minister Metternich said, "a mere geographical expression." Britain strengthened and enlarged her colonial Empire by the gain of *Malta, Heligoland, Cape Colony, Trinidad, Ceylon,* and *St. Lucia.*

The really important effect, however, of the Congress was to preserve a system of balance of power which earned for Europe at least forty years of peace.

EXERCISES

1. Name some of the main characteristics of the eighteenth century, illustrating them by actual facts.
2. Give a careful description of the Industrial Revolution in its (*a*) causes, (*b*) progress, (*c*) results.
3. Give arguments for and against the position taken by the colonists of America in their revolt against British rule.
4. What additions to her Empire did Britain gain during this century?
5. Carefully collect the general causes of the French Revolution. Show how this movement affected Britain.
6. Characterize each aspect of the Napoleonic Wars by a appropriate phrase; and give dates, place, and chief events of each.
7. Write an appreciation of Napoleon *or* of Pitt, using materials outside this book.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STORY OF IRELAND AND OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION (1775–1830)

One of the most striking and important developments connected with the two great wars which England was called upon to wage since the middle of the eighteenth century is seen in the history of Ireland during this period.

To understand it fully we must try briefly to realize the conditions of that country between the years 1775 and 1801. We have already seen the effect on that country of the Revolution which had overturned the Stuart dynasty. It had left a Catholic nation to be ruled by an Irish Parliament composed of Protestants, elected by a Protestant minority. Not only was a Catholic deprived of his vote or of any voice in the making of his country's laws; he might not even hold a house or piece of land on lease, nor carry arms, nor succeed to his father's estate if his younger brother chose to declare himself a Protestant. Even to the Protestants the working of the Irish Parliament was unsatisfactory, for many of these were patriotic enough to resent the fetters imposed on it by the English Privy Council. Moreover, all alike suffered bitterly from the trade restrictions imposed to protect the commerce of Britain. Between the years 1761 and 1777, therefore, when Ireland had recovered from the shock of the Revolution, and had seen a new generation arise, clamorous for freedom and justice, there was much unrest in the

country. Gangs of Irishmen known as Whiteboys levelled the hedges of enclosures, killed or maimed the cattle of Protestant landlords, and kept up a perpetual state of siege. This was stamped out for a while by laws and reprisals of such a nature that great numbers of young and vigorous men and women, who in happier days might have done fine work in building up the prosperity of their distressful land, emigrated to America as their only resource.

Yet in spite of the exile of her children and her persecuted condition, Catholic Ireland remained, as a whole, loyal to Britain. When the gloom of the War of American Independence had overspread England, and she knew not where to turn for troops to send to the seat of the conflict, Catholics, forbidden themselves to bear arms, yet subscribed money freely to support British armies; and when England had sent so many regiments out that she herself was left at the mercy of an invader, it was Ireland that freely raised volunteer forces to take their place.

§ 1. **The Demand for Irish Freedom.**—It was, however, inevitable that the success of the American states should stir up a demand for freedom for a nation far more widely separated in race and faith from England than were those colonists overseas. At first the Irish asked merely that trade restrictions be removed, and these, with half Europe in open hostility, the home Government was obliged to grant.

Then a little band of patriots, Protestant, but Irish to the backbone, led by Grattan, demanded complete independence for the Irish Parliament. Already the panic inspired by the loss of America had led to some relaxation of the penal laws against Catholics, and in consequence they were prepared to accept even a Protestant Government, as long as it was Irish.

For eleven years "Grattan's Parliament" ruled Ireland, but the impossibility of making it a permanent arrangement will be readily seen if we realize the different parties at that time. First, we have the Catholics, comprising by far the greater part of the nation, who could not hold office or sit as members, while the great bulk of them, "disinherited and hopelessly impoverished peasants," yet nationalist and patriotic to the point of religious fervour, cared only for two things—their Faith, and the freedom of their beloved land from every kind of alien and Protestant control.

Then we have the Protestant minority, equally patriotic for

the most part, and strongly disapproving of the unrepresentative character of a Parliament that would not admit Presbyterian dissenters any more than Catholics; but at the same time so ignorant and distrustful of the Catholic religion that any point at issue between the two parties would send them over to the side of England.

With both these parties the Prime Minister, William Pitt, was in active agreement on one point. He desired most ardently the destruction of the Irish Parliament, and was prepared to act against his own commercial and religious convictions—if he ever really possessed the latter—to bring it about. That he also intended to crush and destroy the undying spirit of nationality only serves to show how closely he represented the whole spirit of his age—an age without vision, without ideals, capable of a blunder that can only be explained by sheer stupidity of soul.

When a new Parliament was elected in 1790, most of the offices had fallen to anti-patriots, supporters of Pitt; but before this could bring it to a natural death, the torch of the French Revolution had kindled a new spirit of zeal among the Irish patriots.

This had the almost immediate result of causing that small minority of Catholic gentry, which had of late years been allowed to hold property and to accumulate some measure of wealth, to form a Catholic Committee, which demanded the franchise, and the opening of all professions to Catholics. For this they gained the support of Edmund Burke, then most popular in England as being the strong opponent of the French Revolution, and in 1793 a measure of emancipation was granted by Pitt when the small Catholic farmers—Forty Shillings Freeholders—were given the right to vote. Further he would not go; for, though enfranchisement did not at all obscure his plan for the destruction of Irish nationality, since, when his plan of a "Union" of the two countries came about, Irishmen would vote on the same terms as Englishmen, he would not face unpopularity in Britain.

He probably remembered only too well what had been the effect of a mild attempt at emancipation in 1778, some fifteen years before, when an Act had been passed abolishing the penalties laid on priests as traitors and felons, and the deprivation of the land of a Catholic by a Protestant relative. Almost at once an agitation had been set on foot in England,

against the " dangers of Popery," which reached its height in the mad riot of a London mob engineered by the wild fanatic Lord George Gordon. " In the year 1780," said Edmund Burke, " there were found in this nation men deluded enough on pretences of zeal and piety, without any sort of provocation whatever, to make a desperate attempt which would have consumed all the glory and power of this country in the flames of London, and buried all law, order, and religion under the ruins of the metropolis of the Protestant world."

So spoke a man who, Protestant though he was, was also full of abhorrence of the attitude of the Londoners towards their fellow-citizens. To Burke, however, the whole episode was a red-flag of danger, reminding him of the limit he must set to any measure even that of pressing justice to the Papist.

In Ireland, meantime, the ancient feud between Ulstermen and Irishmen was playing into his hands by an outbreak of violence on both sides, in dealing with which the local juries —invariably Protestant—saw that the Catholic always got the worst of it. At the same time, and from the same quarter, an opposing force to Pitt's designs had arisen in a body formed of Ulster Nonconformists and Catholic patriots, who, under the name of *United Irishmen*, put themselves under the leadership of an ardent Protestant patriot, Wolfe Tone, and made it their direct aim to emancipate their country from English rule. From across the Channel came promises of aid, and in 1796 Wolfe Tone had planned a general rising, if the Frenchman General Hoche would land an army in Munster. But a great storm shattered the French fleet, and Hoche returned to France.

This attempt was made the excuse for a veritable reign of terror in Ireland, that more than anything else estranged the Irish from the English race. Fanatic Protestant troops, quartered upon defenceless Catholic peasants, kept the country in an indescribable condition of outrage and misery. Robbery and worse than robbery, dishonour and tyrannical cruelty, which the English Government took no steps to curb, led inevitably to the rebellion of '98.

Desperate at the loss of their leaders, now imprisoned, the south-east rose in arms, led by their priests and village patriots. Wexford was seized, and a camp established at *Vinegar Hill*, where some small measure of success was won. But the revolt, which lasted less than a month, was doomed

to failure. The "rebel" weapons were out of date, their forces untrained; when the "regulars" appeared on the scene they had no chance of success. Fearful reprisals were made upon these unhappy patriots. They were massacred in crowds, sometimes in the very act of surrender, and those who survived were left to wander homeless and starving through a land more hopelessly divided by religious animosity than before.

In that same year a belated French contingent landed under General Humbert, in Killala Bay, and marched upon panic-stricken British troops which fled before it in the *Race of Castlebar*. But the French General Humbert looked in vain for support from a people crushed and starving; and soon, finding himself shut up between two armies, was forced to surrender.

Once again, some French ships came into Lough Swilly, too late to act in concert with Humbert's troops, but these were also beaten by British vessels, and Wolfe Tone, who was aboard one of them, was taken and condemned to the awful fate of a traitor. He implored to be allowed to die as a soldier should, and when this was refused, poisoned himself in prison. With him died the last hope for Irish freedom in that century.

§ 2. **The Act of Union,** 1801.—To William Pitt there seemed but one solution of the whole problem. Ireland must be prepared to see her Parliament merged in that of Great Britain, in which case he trusted that the religious question would be entirely swamped. To effect this he did not hesitate to buy the votes of the Irish members then sitting in Ireland's last Parliament, while in England he even went so far as to support, or pretend to support, the emancipation of Catholics as the price of the Union. On the 1st of January, 1801, the first Parliament of the United Kingdom sat at Westminster. But Pitt, though pledged to support a Bill for Catholic Relief, urged the opposition of the king as a valid reason for its abandonment, and retired from the Ministry in consequence of his apparent failure. There were other reasons for this action, as we have seen. A shuffling kind of truce with France had to be carried through, and this he preferred to leave to others. When once more the war was in full swing, Pitt's was again the hand at the helm, and the Catholic Emancipation question was forgotten.

§ 3. **Catholic Emancipation in England.**—The history of the Emancipation really belongs to the nineteenth century, and to that period known as the Era of Reform. But, for the sake of continuity, we will follow its development from this point.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, in spite of the fact that Irish Catholics were regarded as traitors and rebels, and that English Catholics formed so small a minority of the population that they seemed hardly worthy of Protestant consideration, it was beginning to be evident that there was a growing body of opinion in favour of freedom from what was nothing more or less than a state of bondage. The condition, indeed, of English Catholics may be understood best by the words of the Protestant member, Wyndham, who introduced a Bill for Relief in 1810 in these words:

"When I speak of the obscurity of the English Roman Catholics, I do not mean that they are destitute of hereditary virtues and hereditary dignities. I cannot contemplate a more noble and affecting spectacle than an ancient Roman Catholic gentleman in the midst of his people, exercising the virtues of beneficence, benevolence, and hospitality. If they are obscure, it is because they are proscribed as aliens in the State; because they are shut out from this assembly, where many of those far less worthy are allowed to sit. . . . Have they ever attempted to obtain their rights by clamour or servility? On the contrary, their conduct has proved that no other body is more justly entitled to respect and admiration."

We may smile nowadays at the condescending expressions, but they were bold sayings in a time when Bill after Bill for "removal of disqualifications" was thrown out by the Commons. For the first twenty-nine years of the nineteenth century the little body of English Catholics remained crushed, obscure, and despised. As a writer of the year 1813 says: "Catholics cannot sit in Parliament or hold any office under Government, be admitted into any corporation, or presented to any benefice. Priests are not allowed the celebration of their rites [unless they had taken the insulting 'Oath of Allegiance,' a declaration derogatory to the dignity of any respectable citizen]. Catholic schoolmasters cannot take Protestant scholars, nor can professors endow a school or college for education of their children in the Faith. Catholic soldiers refusing to frequent Church of England worship when

ordered to do so are liable to the penalty of one shilling and to be laid in irons for twelve hours. Catholics are prevented from voting at elections."

It was not, however, the sense of justice of Englishmen but the strength and eloquence of Daniel O'Connell and his Catholic Association that brought about Emancipation in the end. By a wise enrolment of the whole of Catholic Ireland for this one purpose O'Connell by the year 1824 had behind him the whole force of the Irish nation, "united, disciplined, and ready to brave anything for the Faith." By his determination to make the weight of those who possessed the franchise felt at the Irish polling booths, by his burning eloquence and zeal, by the pressure brought on the Ministry led by George Canning, the Irish leader paved the way for Emancipation, in spite of the peevish opposition of George IV. The death of Canning in 1827, and the fact that Wellington, known to be strongly "anti-papist," had taken his place, was a throwback for a time. But O'Connell was prepared with his plan of action. In 1828 a resolution had been passed by the Catholic Association to vote against every supporter of the Wellington Government; and in the July of that year, to the astonished dismay of the Ministry at Westminster, Daniel O'Connell was elected as member for County Clare. Although by law he was prevented from taking his seat in the House without swearing a blasphemous Oath of Supremacy, it was a perfectly legal election, and was carried through with extraordinary decorum and discipline. Moreover, what had been done in one constituency could easily be done in others, and the Government had to face the prospect of dealing with fifty or more Irish representatives who could not take their seats on account of their Faith. So an unwilling king was forced to give way under the combined pressure of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, but actually under the far more powerful influence of the great Irish leader. In April, 1829, Peel carried through his Bill, the oppression of three centuries was removed, and the Earl of Arundel, heir to the Duke of Norfolk, sat as the first Catholic member of Parliament. O'Connell, to his eternal honour, had refused to take the old Oath of Supremacy, on which, in a most ungracious spirit, the Government insisted, although it had been already superseded by the Oath of Allegiance.

EXERCISES

1. Describe the condition of Ireland in the latter half of the century.
2. What was the significance of " Grattan's Parliament " and why did it fail ?
3. What were the steps that led to Catholic Emancipation in England ?
4. Describe the rebellion of '98.

CHIEF EVENTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1714–1815

1714. Accession of George I.
The Whigs remain in office for fifty years.
1715. Jacobite Insurrection. Battle of *Preston*. Battle of *Sheriffmuir*.
1717. Triple Alliance—Britain, France, Holland.
1718. Quadruple Alliance. Austria joins the Allies.
1720. Peace with Spain. South Sea Bubble panic.
1727. Accession of George II. Walpole remains Prime Minister.
1733. Walpole's Excise Scheme.
1736. The Porteous Riots.
1739. War with Spain. Porto Bello captured.
1742. Fall of Walpole. Carteret controls the Government.
1743. Battle of *Dettingen*.
1744. War with France.
1745. Defeat of Cumberland at *Fontenoy*.
Jacobite Rising. Battle of *Prestonpans*.
1746. The Rising crushed at *Culloden*.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen).
1751. *Arcot* captured by Clive.
1756. Seven Years' War begins. Fall of Minorca.
Black Hole of Calcutta. Defeat of Braddock at *Fort Duquesne*.
1757. Clive wins battle of *Plassey*.
1759. Victory of *Minden*. French fleet broken at *Lagos* and *Quiberon Bay*.
Capture of *Quebec*.
1760. Accession of George III.
1762. Bute Prime Minister. War with Spain. Capture of *Havannah* and *Manilla*.
1763. *Peace of Paris* ends rivalry of France in Canada and India.
Grenville Prime Minister.
Wilkes and the *North Briton*.
1765. The Stamp Act. Fall of Grenville.
1766. Stamp Act repealed.
1767. Townshend taxes the Colonies afresh.
1770. Lord North Prime Minister. American tax on tea retained.
1773. The Boston Riot.
1774. Quebec Act. Penal Acts against the Colonies in North America.
1775. War of American Independence begins. Battle of *Lexington*. Battle of *Bunker's Hill*.
1776. Howe evacuates Boston.
Declaration of American Independence.
1777. Howe captures *Philadelphia*. Burgoyne surrenders at *Saratoga*.

1778. France joins cause of United States.
1779. Spain joins France. Siege of Gibraltar.
1780. The Gordon Riots.
1781. Surrender of Cornwallis at *Yorktown*.
1782. Loss of *Minorca*. Rodney's naval victory in West Indies. End of siege of Gibraltar.
1783. Younger Pitt becomes Prime Minister.
1784. The India Act.
1786. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
1791. The Canada Act.
Storming of the Tuileries.
1792. The September Massacres in Paris.
1793. Louis XVI. beheaded.
Declaration of War with France.
1794. Howe's victory of the "*First of June.*"
1795. *Cape of Good Hope* seized.
1797. Victory at *Cape St. Vincent*.
Victory at *Camperdown*.
1798. Nelson's victory at the *Nile*.
1801. Resignation of Pitt.
1802. Peace of *Amiens*.
1803. War renewed.
1804. Pitt returns to office. Napoleon proclaimed Emperor.
1805. Battle of *Trafalgar*.
Battle of *Austerlitz*.
1806. Death of Pitt. Battle of *Jena*.
1807. Orders in Council issued.
Abolition of the Slave Trade.
1808. Peninsular War begins.
1809. Battle of *Corunna*.
Walcheren Expedition.
Victory at *Talavera*.
1810. Battle of *Busaco*. "Lines of Torres Vedras."
1811. Victory of *Albuera*.
1812. Ciudad Rodrigo stormed, and Badajoz.
The Moscow Retreat.
1813. Battle of *Vittoria*.
Battle of *Leipzig*.
1814. Battle of *Toulouse*.
Peace of Paris.
Congress of Vienna.
1815. The "Hundred Days."
Prussian defeat at *Ligny*.
French at *Quatre Bras*.
Battle of *Waterloo*.
Second Peace of Paris.

THE PERIOD OF MIDDLE-CLASS RULE

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ERA OF REFORM—THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: FIRST HALF (1815–1850)

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.	*France.*	*Papacy.*
George IV., 1820	Louis XVIII., 1815	Pius VII., 1800
William IV., 1830	Charles X., 1824	Leo XII., 1823
Victoria, 1837	Louis Philippe, 1830	Pius VIII., 1829
	(Second Republic), 1848	Gregory XVI., 1831
	Napoleon III., 1852	Pius IX., 1846
	Third Republic, 1870	Leo XIII., 1878
		Pius X., 1903

Russia.

Alexander, 1801 | Nicolas I., 1825 | Alexander II., 1855

General Survey.—The nineteenth century, the first half of which we are about to consider, is marked by three main lines of development.

The first of these, whose beginnings in the eighteenth century have been already noticed, is the great *Industrial Revolution.* The main effects of this may be considered as (1) the transition of England, from an agricultural society living in thousands of small villages, to a town society living in a few large cities; and (2) the advance of industrial prosperity, which transformed Great Britain into a vast commercial empire, the chief, if not the only, aim of which was the production of wealth.

The second line of development is the series of "reforms," first, in the character of the Government, which changed, slowly at first, but very rapidly in later years, from an aristocratic State ruled by a few great noblemen, for the most part in fairly close connection with the agricultural population, to a middle-class "capitalist" State, sharply divided from the wage-earners. Then, towards the end of the century, we

shall find this, in its turn, giving place to a democratic State, in which the ruling power passes more and more into the hands of the actual workers and wage-earners.

The next series of reforms are concerned with various social conditions, the Criminal Law, the Factory System, the Poor Laws, the price of corn, restrictions of trade, the Educational System.

The third line of development is the opening up of foreign lands and the expansion of Great Britain abroad.

§ 1. **The Development of the Industrial Revolution,** 1815–1850.—In spite of the wealth which had come to a certain part of the nation through the revolution in industry during the latter part of the last century, the end of the long French wars found the country, as a whole, in very sorry state. Wages were low, work scarce, demobilized soldiers wandered about the country seeking in vain for employment, the agricultural part of the nation was so hopelessly depressed that many parishes were entirely deserted by their inhabitants, who found it paid better to "go on tramp" than to work for starvation pay. A series of bad harvests, and the consequent high price of corn, made living still more difficult, and offered small hope for the future. For when the years of peace might have allowed supplies to be sent from abroad, the landowning class in Parliament, intent only on getting their rents from the farmers, forbade the importation of foreign corn till the price of the home-grown product had reached the very high figure for those days of 80s. a quarter. Thus, "the poor man's bread was made dear in order that the rich man's rental might be high," and, as a consequence, the land was ravaged by famine and pestilence. But low wages and dear bread were not the only troubles with which the agriculturist had to contend. In the early years of the century he still possessed certain "common" rights, could keep his pigs and fowls at very small expense, and could count on free milk for his children and wood for his hearth from the farm on which he worked. Then rapid changes had come about. New enclosures of common lands had been made for the rich merchant who had dispossessed the squire to shoot over or to build upon. The squire himself often became a townsman, and, his country house being closed for most of the year, the labourers were thrown out of work. Meantime, especially in the North of England, great towns were springing up like

mushrooms. Manchester, for example, had a population nearly twelve times what it had been a century earlier, and for this population there were prepared conditions of life even worse than for the countryman. Yet to the towns the latter flocked, hoping for at least a living wage, and thus helping to defeat his own aim. For agriculture suffered for lack of labour, and industries from a surfeit of unskilled workmen, while the housing question and the high prices of necessaries, such as bread and boots, grew more and more acute.

A certain amount of resistance to these conditions was shown during the years between the battle of Waterloo and the Reform Bill of 1832, but this had small effect on a Tory Government led by Lord Liverpool, which looked upon every movement of revolt as a direct result of the French Revolution and a threat to the monarchy, to be quelled by force. We hear, on the one hand, of attempts to fire the factories, of a manufacturer shot, of riots and rick-burnings, and of a peaceful meeting called in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, to consider grievances, which was fired upon by the military and several innocent people killed. The only effect was the passing of the *Six Acts*, which forbade " all meetings for the consideration of grievances in Church and State, or for the purpose of preparing petitions." Again, when the first Trade Unions appeared, for the purpose of strengthening the hands of labour, they were declared to be " conspiracies in restraint of trade," and at once suppressed, Thus did the Government, by trying to muzzle all expression of opinion, hope to delay the day of reckoning with a nation which was rapidly passing from their control. For the change of conditions, which was now putting all the wealth of industrial Britain into the pockets of the middle-class merchants, whose capital was the basis of the whole system, was about to cause the disappearance of the old régime from the Government, and with the " new men " came in a wave of reform almost in spite of themselves.

Even in the misery and darkness of these years there had already come about a stirring of dry bones, a pressing forward towards the light. We may see its beginnings in the work of the Methodists in the previous century, men who, though they had not the true Faith, yet made it their aim to rouse religious life among the poor, to awaken a sense of the brotherhood of man, to quicken the fire of personal holiness. We see it under another form in the

fiery eloquence of the reformer Cobbett, as he denounced the social injustices of his day, pointing out, in connection with the migration of the people from the countryside for lack of house room, that the great mediæval church of Old Romney would hold 1,500 people—and yet where once those people lived in comfort, there were now but twenty houses fit for habitation. We have seen it already in the wave of patriotism that was stirred up by O'Connell in Ireland for the liberation of the Faith.

§ 2. **The Reform Bills,** 1830–1832.—The movement towards reform began, as was absolutely necessary, with Parliament, and the most striking evidence of this was seen in the year of the second French Revolution. No doubt this "middle-class rebellion," which overthrew the Bourbon king in favour of Louis Philippe, a king elected by the "bourgeois," or merchant class, had much to do with hastening "middle-class reform" in the Parliamentary system. The need of this was clear enough. Owing to the retention of a mediæval system of representation long after mediæval things had passed away, a large number of "boroughs"—some mere names, some consisting of a ruined wall and a hut or two—had fallen into the hands of great landowners, who nominated and returned to Parliament what members they pleased. Thus, Old Sarum, which did not exist, was "represented" by two members, and, on the other hand, some of the new industrial towns, such as Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, were not represented at all. This state of things had two effects. It concentrated the whole governing power in the hands of a few wealthy peers in the House of Lords, and of their nominees in the House of Commons. Hence the Commons were no longer any kind of check on the Lords, or *vice versa;* and the whole idea of a *representative* Government had vanished. Yet when the first movement of reform began, it was possible for the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, to declare that "he was fully convinced that the country possessed a legislature which answered all good purposes, and this to a greater degree than any legislature ever has answered in any country whatever."

It was during the Whig Ministry of Lord Grey in 1831 that the first Reform Bill was brought in by Lord John Russell. It provided for the abolition of "rotten" boroughs which did not actually exist, and of "pocket" boroughs, to which

members were nominated by the owners, and so extended the franchise to a certain extent. But this moderate measure was received by both Houses with "derisive cheers and shouts of laughter," though the Iron Duke, it is true, was heard grimly to remark that "it was nothing to laugh at." When this was thrown out, Parliament "went to the country"—that is, a general election was held, turning on "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

When the new Parliament met to discuss the second Reform Bill, it was carried by the Commons and rejected by the Lords, and immediately the voice of revolution made itself heard in the angry nation. Riots took place, prisons were broken open, Bristol was seized and held by an angry mob. In face of this, further resistance was hopeless, and when a third Bill was brought in, the Duke of Wellington and a hundred of his fellow-peers, "majestically sullen," walked out of the House before voting took place, and the Bill became law.

Before we consider the almost immediate results of a reform which "inaugurated government of the people *by* the people and *for* the people" let us glance at the further development in this principle down to the present day.

The *Reform Act* of 1832, besides securing adequate representation for every borough and county according to its population, extended the franchise to town householders who paid a yearly rental of £10, and to country dwellers who owned land worth £10 a year or who paid a £50 rental. Thus it gave the vote to the *middle-class population.*

The *Second Reform Act,* brought in by Disraeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield, in 1867, gave the vote to male householders of the boroughs who paid rates, and to male lodgers who paid a £10 rent, and to male property-owners rated at £12 a year in the country.

This act was therefore an extension of the franchise to the *well-to-do working class.*

The *Third Reform Act,* introduced by Gladstone in 1884, gave the vote to all rated male householders, whether in town or country.

This gave the vote to *the villagers.*

By the *Representation of the People Act,* in 1918, the franchise was extended to women over thirty years of age on the same terms as men, and was widened slightly to admit lodgers and occupiers not paying rates directly.

Reform of Social Conditions, 1830–1850.—The effect of a more representative Parliament began to be seen at once in the measures of reform which relieved, if they did not mend, some of the most crying evils of that day. Thus, in the very first sesion, through the exertions of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Zachary Macaulay, and Wilberforce, negro slavery was abolished in British colonies at the expense of a sum of twenty million pounds to the slave-owners. In the same year was passed the first Factory Act, the work of Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, which limited the daily hours of labour to eight for children under thirteen, to twelve for those between thirteen and eighteen. This was the first adequate attack upon a Poor Law system which sent waggon-loads of pauper children every quarter to the cotton mills of the North, and forced babes of six years old to work fifteen and sixteen hours a day. Other children toiled by their mother's side in the coal-pits, and scarcely knew the light of the sun, and this at a time when grown men found it impossible to find work. But the capitalist filled his pockets, and the rates were kept down; and that was all that mattered in those dark days, when the mediæval and carefully safeguarded system of apprenticeship had been superseded by white slavery. It is significant that even this beginning of reform was strongly opposed with the argument that "it would ruin British trade." Nowadays, by the *Workshops Act* of 1895, the *Workmen's Compensation Act* of 1907, and the *Employment of Children Act* of 1919, not only are the workmen's hours limited, compensation for injury given, and "overtime" paid for, but the employment of children under fourteen is almost entirely forbidden.

The next measures of reform attacked the Poor Law system itself. By the Poor Law, a relic of Elizabethan days, "relief" from the parish could be given by irresponsible people, or by at best the country squire or farmer, never a very disinterested person, to able-bodied men who happened to be earning very low wages. Hence, it was to the advantage of the employer to pay, and to the employed to take, a starvation wage, knowing that this would be supplemented by "parish relief." In the registers we have actual instances, such as, "paid to six men for standing in the pound five days, s.7," an easily earned reward for idleness, but a very inadequate one for involuntary unemployment. As the rates rose in con-

sequence of this " relief, " the self-respect of the peasant fell. The pauper became the support of the tavern, since it was better worth while to live in idleness than to work. The root of the evil was the old-fashioned idea that the only duty of the governing class to the governed was to fling them shillings in the form of a poor-rate.

The Act of 1834 was one step, though a most inadequate one, in the right direction, for it gave outdoor relief only to the aged. But it sent the able-bodied paupers to the workhouse, separated husbands from wives, deprived them of all rights as citizens, and forcibly apprenticed their children. This, as it made no allowance for honest cases of misfortune, was unjust enough, but it was not till, in 1871, the Poor Law Board was merged into the Local Government Board that marked improvement in the conditions of the " Unions," as the workhouses were called, took place. The real point of reform was to get a " living " wage paid by the employer, and this was left for the Trade Unions to bring about in recent times.

The reform of the Criminal Code, under Lord Melbourne's Ministry, belongs to the early years of the Victorian period. Before that it could be said of Britain that " there was no other country in the world where so many and so large a variety of actions were punishable with loss of life." Two hundred and thirty-three offences carried the death penalty, and a man and even a young child could be, and sometimes were, actually hanged for petty theft, for cutting down young trees, for shooting rabbits, or for writing threatening letters. At one time there were a hundred and seven thousand people in gaol, where innocent and guilty were herded together, drunkenness and gambling were rife, and the sanitary conditions so terribly inadequate that " prison fever " was the normal fate of every prisoner. The work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry had already done something to improve conditions, but still at this period of the nineteenth century the gaolers depended for their wages on the fees of the prisoners and even those proved innocent were sometimes dragged back to prison because they had no money to pay them. Deprived of light because of the window-tax, and of water because it was expensive, the unfortunate prisoner was also exposed to the attacks of old " gaol-birds," who, after a demand to " pay or strip," resented his poverty by tearing his clothes off and

leaving him to shiver in a filthy corner of the dark stone cell, barred from the fire and food monopolized by his tormentors.

Such miseries as these made men desperate. Self-respect was lost for ever and the criminal returned again and again. Moreover, as some judges hesitated to award the death penalty, although the alternative was the almost more terrible transportation, men grew reckless, took the risk, and swelled Britain's criminal lists to an extraordinary extent. The Criminal Code Reform Bill remedied some of these evils by reducing capital crimes to seven, and by introducing the separate cell system, advocated so strongly by Jeremy Bentham. But till the year 1868 public executions still provided an entertainment for the people, and an "awful example" for their unhappy children. The number of convicts, however, diminished rapidly after the introduction of Peel's police force, and by the year 1841 capital punishment was inflicted for murder alone.

§ 3. **The Chartists.**—The year 1848 is a convenient landmark from which to judge the progress of reform. What had been already accomplished was far from satisfying the wage-earning class, as is clear from the fact that in that year "Chartism" was working to a climax. The Chartists were men who, realizing that the fruits of Reform scarcely touched the still voteless labouring man, were agitating for what was known as the *People's Charter*. This demanded universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, the abolition of property qualifications for a seat in the House of Commons, and a salary for members. These people had for years past been harassing the Whig Government, and by this time the unpopular Reform of the Poor Laws and the hated "Unions" were a new incitement to discontent. It was a bad period also for trade; food, especially bread, was very dear, wages were very low, and unemployment was widespread. Moreover, revolution was in the air. Across the Irish Sea, the "Young Ireland," or Nationalist, party, not satisfied with a renewal of O'Connell's attempt to abolish the union of England and Ireland, was aiming at complete independence, and a terrible year of potato disease and famine was driving Irishmen to counsels of despair. From across the Channel, too, came news of a Third Revolution which had forced Louis Philippe from his throne and established a Republic.

In England the Chartists had few supporters, and, curiously

enough, one of their most pressing reasons for discontent, the high price of corn, did not lead them to throw in their lot with the "Free Traders," whom they looked upon as a middle-class faction working for their own ends. But they were supported by a little band of sympathizers, Tory in politics, Oxford men and High Churchmen for the most part, who really sympathized with the working-man and who took for their leader a certain Mr. Disraeli, a Jew, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield.

Two years before, in 1846, Disraeli had risen into prominence as a fierce opponent of Free Trade, a movement which had recently taken a foremost place in politics. This is not the place to retail arguments for and against it, but it may be shortly explained why it appeared at that time the only remedy for one of the greatest burdens laid on the artisan —the heavy cost of food.

A system of Protection meant that all imports of food and raw material were taxed, and thus the cost of production was raised. The many new industries which the Industrial Revolution had brought into Great Britain were almost entirely dependent upon their export trade for financial success. Now a part of the process of production is exchange—*i.e.*, the barter of goods with foreign countries—and this process was obviously hindered by a "Protection" that imposed a tax large enough to make it of no advantage for foreign countries to send over their goods. Hence the home markets were either hampered by the difficulties of exchange or prices were bound to rise.

This was the doctrine preached by Richard Cobden and John Bright for seven years in vain. Then came the bad year of 1845–1846, when in Ireland and England an actual famine ravaged the poor, and Sir Robert Peel, the Tory Prime Minister, declared himself a convert to Free Trade. "I will not," said he, "incur the guilt of maintaining laws which must inflict such horrors on the people." He was strongly opposed by Disraeli and the Tory party, which represented the country squires, who feared for their high rentals and their well-stocked farms, if the price of corn should fall, but he was ably supported by William Ewart Gladstone, the future leader of the "Liberal" party and the lifelong opponent of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. By the end of that year the Corn Laws had been repealed, though this cost Peel his office.

Naturally enough, it took years to show any marked social effect, save in the fall in the price of food. But this did not prevent another and more disastrous famine falling on Ireland in the following year. For though there were corn and cattle in the land the poverty-stricken people had no money wherewith to buy, when the potato crop, upon which they lived, had again failed them.

§ 4. **The Irish Question.**—As a matter of fact, the Irish were in worse case than before, for taking its stand on the doctrine of Free Trade, the Government refused to put a stop to the exportation of corn even when the country was actually starving. For a while a great movement of emigration again drained the land of some of her finest sons and daughters, but this was a remedy as bad as the disease. The introduction of the harsh English Poor Law, and the refusal of relief to any peasant tilling more than half an acre of land, were two more blows under which the struggling and suffering country reeled. In 1848, the year in which the Chartists made their great but futile demonstration at Kennington, the Young Ireland party rose in revolt under Smith O'Brien, and demanded the repeal of the "Act of Union." It was an impossible attempt, costing the leaders their liberty and bringing about a smothered sense of grievance and "coercion" that was to last for many a long year. In vain the "Land Acts" tried to cope with the evil by regulating to some extent the rights of landlords and by granting loans to tenants who wished to buy their own land. As Strafford had said many years before, "Where you find a Church, a Crown, and a people spoiled, you cannot redeem them with gracious smiles and gentle looks. It would cost warmer water than so."

Not till 1885 was one solution of the Irish question proposed, when Mr. Gladstone brought in his Bill for Home Rule in Ireland. This attempt was for many years frustrated, until in the year 1921 two Parliaments, one for Protestant Ulster and one for Catholic Ireland, were in process of formation.

So far the Era of Reform could show no very encouraging results. In one direction, however, a most marked advance had been made. Industrial prosperity was beginning to free all but the manual workers from preoccupation with the necessities of existence and thus time was available for thought and invention. The result was seen in the railroad

system, the telegraph and telephone, and the discovery of the countless uses of electricity. Nothing, perhaps, has done more to educate the "democracy" than the railways which now brought all parts of Britain by degrees into touch with one another and carried goods throughout the land.

The pioneer in this reform was George Stephenson, a collier's son, who, following the lead of Watt, the discoverer of the power of steam, invented an engine in 1816 known as "Puffing Billy." In 1825, on the Stockton and Darlington railway, the first to be opened for passenger traffic, this ran at the rate of eight miles an hour. Not until well after the middle of the century did these railways begin to supersede the coaches, for they were looked upon as far more dangerous to life and limb than we consider the airships of to-day.

EXERCISES

1. Show the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the Nineteenth Century.
2. Show the importance of the Reform Act of 1832.
3. Trace some of the causes that led to the transference of power from the Aristocrats to the Middle Class.
4. Sketch the steps of development in the grant of the Franchise during the Nineteenth Century.
5. What other striking reforms characterize this period?
6. Discuss the questions arising out of the Chartist Movement.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EXPANSION OF BRITAIN, AT HOME AND ABROAD—SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1850–1900)

General Survey.—During the latter half of the nineteenth century the main lines of movement are (1) The rapid expansion of the British Empire, followed by the development of colonial independence.

(2) The foreign policy of the time, by which the long peace was broken in India and Russia and, at the end of the century, in South Africa.

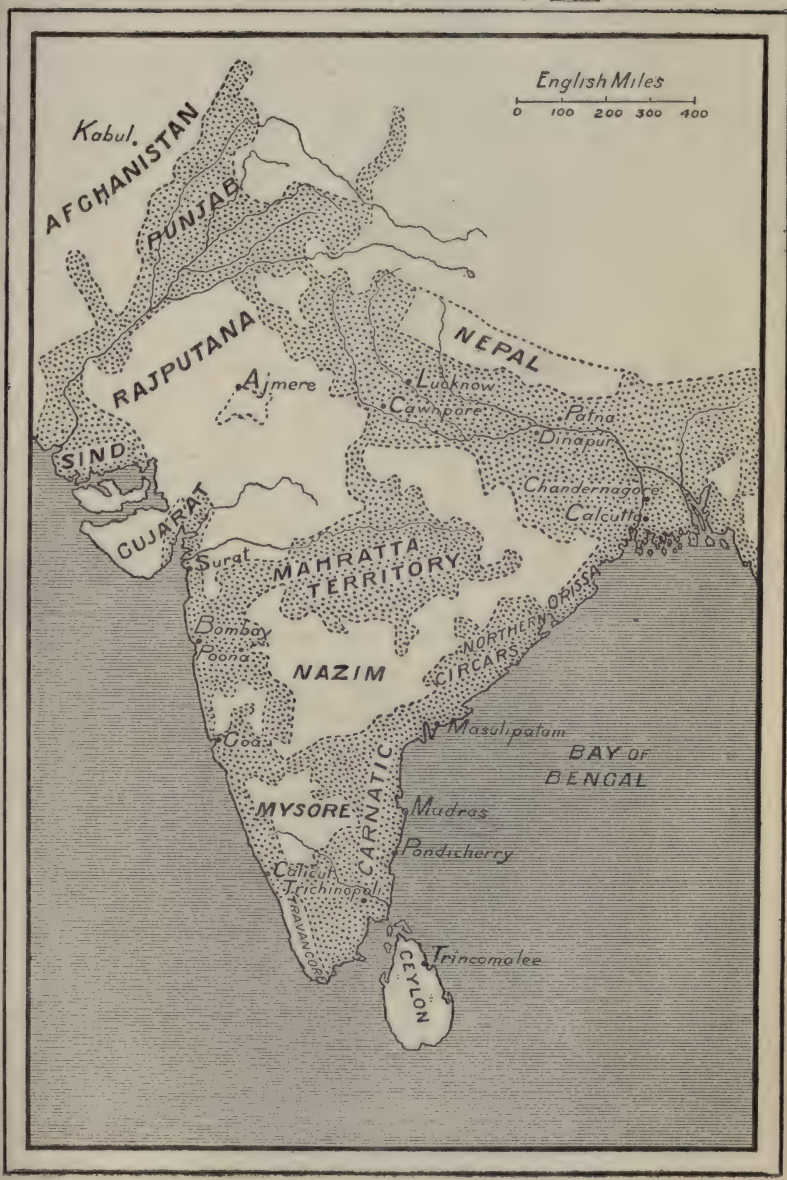
(3) The social development of the country and its political transformation from a middle-class and aristocratic State to one of democratic government.

In connection with these three movements it must be remembered that the actions of Great Britain were still tending more and more to base themselves solely upon commercial interests. Her wealth rapidly increased, but it was concentrated more and more in the hands of the few; hence what is sometimes called the Era of Progress did not mean a higher standard of living for the working-man, and the mass of the population grew poorer rather than richer during this period. At the same time, we may trace a steady movement towards "rule by the people," due not only to the widening of the franchise, already noted, but to the spread of education. Here we may briefly note the change in the latter since the beginning of the century.

§ 1. **Development of Education.**—In the early years a certain amount of interest had been shown in education, but the Government would recognize no duty in respect to the matter, declaring that the labouring class needed nothing more than the kindly and often ignorant zeal of voluntary workers in night-schools and Sunday-schools. As late as 1844, Canon Kingsley of Eversley bore witness that no grown man or woman in his parish could read or write; "for as boys and girls they had all been glad to escape early to field work from the parish clerk's stifling little room, ten feet square, where cobbling shoes, teaching, and caning went on together."

The first schools for the people were due to the zeal of the Quakers, and other Nonconformists of the British and Foreign School Society. Then came the National schools, built by the Churchmen of the National Society, which remained for years without either grant or inspection from the Government. When, after 1850, the latter took up the matter, worse things befell. An era of "Codes" set in, which had very little connection with education, and a system of "Payment by Results," which made the grant depend upon the number of unfortunate children who could be crammed through a yearly examination.

In 1870 Mr. Forster could tell Parliament with truth that "England was behind every other great country in the world, and behind most that in no wise professed to be great" in the matter of learning. An Act compelling children to attend school was passed, and School Boards were set up to deal with local conditions; but this brought in the religious difficulty, for the voluntary schools taught what doctrine their managers


INDIA 1858. British Territory
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA
Ajmere
NEPAL
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Patna
Dinapur
SIND
GUJARAT
Surat
MAHRATTA TERRITORY
Chandernagore
Calcutta
Bombay
Poona
NAZIM
NORTHERN CIRCARS
ORISSA
Goa
Masulipatam
BAY OF BENGAL
MYSORE
CARNATIC
Madras
Pondicherry
Calicut
Trichinopoli
TRAVANCORE
Trincomalee
CEYLON

wished, the Board schools no distinctive faith of any kind. In 1902 these Boards were abolished and the schools were transferred to the Municipal and County Councils. Catholics, who had manfully kept their schools going without aid from Government for many years, while paying their share of the rates that kept up the non-Catholic schools, at length obtained a school maintenance grant on coming under the Educational Authority in 1902. The effect of education on the mass of the nation, including as it did in later years the opportunity of passing on to the wider field of secondary school and university, has done more to level the barriers of "class" than anything else in this period.

§ 2. **The Expansion of the British Empire.**—The rapid growth of British colonization during this period was due, first to her commercial ambitions, and then to the need of finding an outlet for the surplus energies of her fast-increasing population. From the first, however, we see that Great Britain had learnt the lesson taught her by the loss of the American colonies. No longer were these countries considered only as a means of increasing the wealth of the home country, but ample opportunity was given of self-development, culminating in the self-government which was prudently granted when certain limits of expansion had been reached.

We have already seen how the "Province" of Canada developed into the "Dominion," which covers half the northern continent of America. It was during the period that intervened between the conquest of Canada, and the emancipation of the United States, that Australia "swam into the ken" of Britain through the explorations of Captain Cook. Eight years after he was murdered by the natives of Hawaii, a part of the continent began to be utilized by the Government as a "dumping-ground" for convicts. These were at once threatened with famine, for the newcomers knew nothing of agriculture from the expert's point of view, and the soil of Sydney Cove would not grow corn. The tact and humanity of Phillips, the first governor, saved the situation, by demanding the aid of farmers, and by granting a large measure of freedom to his unhappy flock in the way of self-development. It was he who predicted that the country would prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made, and this prediction was fulfilled completely during the nineteenth

century. By the year 1900 the new colony, which had first struck root as New South Wales, had developed into the great Australian Commonwealth. In 1839 New Zealand was annexed by Britain, and became a self-governing Dominion in 1907.

The early years of the century had seen the exploration of some part of Africa by Mungo Park, by Sir Samuel Baker, and by Captain Speke. In the middle years David Livingstone, making his way up the Zambesi River, had crossed the "Dark Continent," from south to north. Searching for him in 1871, Stanley discovered the source of the Congo, and explored its course, and by his descriptions did much to open up Africa to Europe. Then followed a race for the newly explored continent, which was quickly shared out among Germany, Italy, France, Portugal, Belgium, and Great Britain. The richest part of Africa, the region stretching from the Cape to Lake Tanganyika, fell to the share of the last. Cape Colony had been hers since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and Natal was annexed by her after a long series of conflicts between the Zulu natives and the Dutch settlers, or Boers, who had founded the three republics of Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. In the latter years of the century, the discovery of gold in the Transvaal sent there large numbers of British-born settlers, "Uitlanders," who presently demanded a share in the government of the country. The Boers refused this to men whose presence there they warmly resented, and the Boer War of 1899–1902 was the result.

But when Britain had won her hardly fought victory over the Boer, she showed that she had profited by the lesson of more than a century earlier. She granted self-government to Cape Colony, to Natal, to the Orange Free State, and to the Transvaal, now known as the Union of South Africa. This Union possesses a Parliament and a Ministry, which act under the Governor-General appointed by the mother-country, and thus the interests of Boer and Englishman are alike safeguarded.

Beyond these states lies the dominion called Rhodesia, after the Englishman Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, and one of the earliest discoverers of the diamond-fields of Kimberley, who made Bechuanaland a British Protectorate. To the north lie the colony of East Africa and the Protectorate of Uganda, and farther north still the Sudan and Egypt, also to be reckoned among British protectorates.

§ 3. **The Foreign Policy of the Nineteenth Century.**—The first half of this century had been, after 1815, a time of almost unbroken peace. Four minor wars were fought, which may be briefly noted here, but these had very small effect upon the nation as a whole.

In 1827, Canning, then Prime Minister, following out his principle of leaving each country free to manage her own affairs, interfered on behalf of Greece, which five years earlier had risen in revolt against the tyranny of the Sultan, but which was then in danger of being crushed by a Turko-Egyptian alliance. In conjunction with French and Russian squadrons, Admiral Codrington defeated a fleet of Turkish and Egyptian ships at *Navarino* so completely that Greece won her independence.

In 1839 Afghanistan was invaded in order to avenge the murder of a British envoy. The brief campaign is marked by two lurid incidents. The English troops, unable to hold Cabul after its capture, had obtained a safe conduct into India from the Afghan Prince, Akbar Khan. But on passing through a rocky pass outside the city, they were shot down by unseen treacherous foes, one Englishman alone surviving to tell the tale. The consequence of this was that General Pollock stormed the *Khyber Pass*, took Cabul, and drove Akbar from the throne. But it cost Britain too much to hold the country, and her troops were soon after this finally withdrawn.

During the years 1845–1849 revolts in the Punjab, crushed by the battles of *Chillianwara* and *Gujerat*, caused the whole of this district to be annexed to our Indian Empire. A few years before this (1839–1841) British troops had appeared in China, in shameful support of the merchants who insisted upon introducing opium into the country. The result of this petty war was that Britain gained Hong-Kong and the right of entry into the larger Chinese ports.

After the middle of the century the character of the warfare changed from that of local conflicts and revolts to a European struggle.

The cause of the *Crimean War* of 1854–1856 was closely bound up with that "Eastern Question" which had been the problem for Europe since the fall of the Eastern Empire in 1453.

The chief aim of Russia had for centuries been the control

of the "highway" of the Straits of Constantinople. The aid given to Greece at *Navarino*, which brought the Russian army to the gates of Constantinople, had been by no means devoid of self-interest; and now, in 1854, Russia made another bid for the possession of the city. For she knew well that the power that held it controlled the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the highway of the great corn ports of the Black Sea. The excuse was found in a disagreement between France and Russia as to the right of admission of monks of the Latin and Greek Churches respectively to the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, held, as was the rest of the Holy Land, by the Turk. When the demands of the Catholic Church, speaking by the mouth of France, were conceded by the Sultan, the Russian Tsar, considering his religion affronted, retaliated by claiming the right to "protect" all Christian subjects living under Turkish rule. This was interpreted as an intention to extend the borders of Russia to the Dardanelles, an intention made even clearer by the Tsar's proposal to the British ambassador that if the "Sick Man of Europe" died—that is, if the Turkish Empire fell to pieces—Britain should annex Crete and Egypt, while the European states of Turkey should be placed under Russian protection. When Britain refused the bribe, Russia declared war on Turkey, occupied the Danube provinces, and destroyed the Turkish fleet.

Then, at length, Britain and France came to Turkey's aid, drove the Russian army across the border at Varna and determined to besiege the great naval arsenal at Sebastopol. In the *Battle of the Alma* (1854) the Russians were defeated, and the allies settled down to the long siege. Two famous battles mark this campaign. The *Battle of Balaclava* saw the Charge of the Light Brigade, when through a mistaken order a whole brigade rode into the Valley of Death, facing the enemy's guns without a murmur and leaving a bare two hundred to tell the tale.

In the "Soldiers' Battle" of *Inkerman*, owing to confusion and darkness, the officers counted for practically nothing, and the day was won by the coolness and determination of the men in the ranks.

That bitter winter of 1854–1855 saw the terrible scandal of Governmental lack of forethought and culpable neglect in the way of supplies and hospital treatment. Thousands of soldiers died from lack of ordinary care, warmth, and food;

thousands more were only preserved from death by the unselfish devotion of the nursing nuns, and by such volunteers as Florence Nightingale, their indefatigable helper, whose influence at home at length stirred public feeling to red-hot indignation with the conduct of affairs.

In the autumn of 1856 Sebastopol fell, and the Tsar hastened to make peace.

Within a year Britain was horrified anew by the awful news of the Indian Mutiny. The discontent of certain native princes, and the stirring of the religious prejudices of the sepoys by fanatic teachers, who persuaded them that they would lose caste by their occupation, caused an outbreak of revolt, first at *Meerut*, and then at *Delhi*, where they seized the city and proclaimed a native prince as king. While British troops were besieging Delhi, the mutiny had broken out at *Cawnpore* and at *Lucknow*.

At *Cawnpore* the little British colony, five hundred women and children and a few hundred men, were placed by the orders of the native prince, Nana Sahib, on boats on the river, which were then fired upon and sunk. The few who had not gone aboard were massacred and thrown into a well. Only four out of the whole settlement escaped with their lives.

Lucknow, closely besieged by the mutineers, barely held out under Sir Henry Lawrence, who was killed before Havelock and Outram saved the garrison.

Meantime, Delhi had been taken by Nicholson, and the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, with fresh forces from the mother-country, at length brought the mutiny to an end.

Into the great civil war between the Northern States of America and the Confederate States of the South over the abolition of slavery, in 1861–1862, Britain refused to let herself be drawn. But at one moment it seemed as if this must happen in connection with what is known as the *"Alabama" Incident*.

The Southern States, having no navy, ordered a warship, the *Alabama*, to be built for them by a British firm at Birkenhead. This they used to sink certain merchant ships of their opponents. There was such indignation in America over this that the British Government had to pay heavy damages in compensation.

§ 4. **Position of Catholics in Nineteenth Century.**—Let us turn from this recital of warfare to a very different subject,

and note the changes that had taken place in the position of Catholics during the nineteenth century. We have seen how Catholic Emancipation came about in the earlier period, and we may take the year 1850 as a convenient landmark for later developments. Five years before that date, John Henry Newman, leader of the Oxford Movement, which in the hands of a certain section of Anglicans aimed at a return to Catholicism without acknowledging the supremacy of Rome, saw the impossibility of his position, and was received into the Catholic Church. From that time a large number of conversions heralded the "Second Spring" of the Church in England, and struck a heavy blow at the "Establishment," a blow which had its effect in a counterblast of Protestant bigotry. This had been freshly aroused in 1850 by the results of what is known as the *Gorham Judgment*—a decision of the Privy Council in favour of a Protestant clergyman who denied the Sacramental character of Baptism. A fresh batch of conversions immediately followed, amongst them that of Archdeacon Manning, the future Cardinal of Westminster.

This was the moment chosen by the Holy See to set up a Catholic hierarchy in England, a return to the pre-Reformation system, in which the bishops were to take their titles from English towns. Such a storm of "No Popery" agitation was roused by this very ordinary procedure that an *Ecclesiastical Titles* Bill was rushed through Parliament, forbidding Catholic bishops to assume titles taken from places in the United Kingdom. This act was repealed in 1871, without having ever been enforced.

In 1874 this agitation was to a certain extent revived by the publication by Mr. Gladstone of a pamphlet entitled *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance*, in which he contended that there was a danger of the spiritual power of the Pope being exercised in political matters against the allegiance of the Catholic subject. This brought forth a host of weighty pamphlets showing the fallacy of his reasoning, and had the very desirable effect of a second pamphlet, in which Mr. Gladstone bore the strongest witness to the loyalty of his Catholic fellow-subjects.

Meantime, the most marked progress, not only in the number of churches and schools and the Catholic population, but in the growth of a wider tolerance, had marked the last forty years of the century. Seminaries were opened for the

training of Catholic priests; training colleges for Catholic teachers; most important of all, religious communities both of men and women returned, no longer in secret, but in the open, to the land in which they had once played so conspicuous a part. Perhaps the most striking testimony to the fact that the Church in Britain had emerged from the catacombs of persecution and prejudice was the great Cathedral of Westminster, which now rears its stately head over the city through which the English martyrs were dragged to a cruel death three centuries before.

EXERCISES

1. Trace the Development of Education in this period.
2. Show what is meant by the Expansion of the Empire in the Nineteenth Century.
3. Show the effect of England's Foreign Policy with regard to Greece, India, and Russia.

CHAPTER XX

THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY—THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: FIRST TWO DECADES (1900–1920)

THE twentieth century has been so completely absorbed by the Great European War that it is with some effort we remember that for the space of fourteen years Great Britain was making history of another kind. Even now, with that great gap of five years between the World Before and the World After the War, it is difficult to treat of events that are so near our own times, and we will confine ourselves to a very brief consideration of two lines of movement. The first of these is the strong current towards democratic government seen in those first fourteen years. The second is the change in our foreign policy, a change that was to determine our position in the Great War.

§ 1. **Democracy.**—The beginning of the reign of Edward VII. (1901–1910) has been called a " turning-point in the social fate of modern England."[1] The reasons, briefly, are these. The last years of the nineteenth century, though they showed a strong tendency towards " democracy," the rule of the

[1] *History of England*, Belloc and Lingard.

people, were unmarked by any striking practical effect in that direction, unless we count as such the growing restlessness of the labouring and industrial classes. But midway through the reign, at the time of the general election of 1906, the voice of the people made itself heard with no uncertain sound in a threefold demand.

First, Old Age Pensions must take the place of the degrading Workhouse or Outdoor Relief system for the aged poor.

Second, the Trade Unions, which safeguarded the interests of the workers in what then seemed the only possible way, must have freedom from a recent law that confiscated the funds of the Union to console the employer for losses suffered by him in time of strike or breach of contract.

The third "mandate" at this election, though far remote from the social life of Britain, concerned a principle of the utmost importance. It was demanded that the Government should put a stop to the Chinese labour employed to a very large extent after the Boer War in the South African mines. The principle involved was that of forced labour, only another word for serfdom, and in days when the air was thick with "labour difficulties" at home, needed most emphatically to be dealt with. It was the only one of these three points which the Government did not wholly concede, though it agreed to make a gradual substitution of black labour for that of the yellow race.

The line taken in such test cases as these, together with the outcry for the grant of the suffrage to the women of Britain, and the appearance in Parliament of a small but articulate "Independent Labour Party," all show the approach of democracy, the will of the mass of the people instead of the will of the few. In the days after the War, when the cry for reconstruction in every department of social life has made itself so loudly heard, it is clear that the deciding voice in matters such as the Housing question, the Health of the Nation, and the terms upon which Labour is to be employed, will be that of the multitude most intimately concerned. In these questions, and more especially in those dealing with the Moral Law, such as the demand for easier divorce, the opinions of the Catholics of Britain, no longer suppressed, but organized, and well instructed, will play no unimportant part.

§ 2. **Foreign Policy of Britain.**—The second change that occurred during these years is closely connected with the European War, though in those early days the possibility of such a catastrophe was unrealized.

Since the Franco-Prussian War, which in 1871 had not only brought about a conquest of France but had made William Hohenzollern, King of Prussia, German Emperor and ruler of a United Germany, the policy of that country, disguised under the plea of need of "economic expansion," had aimed at nothing less than a World Empire.

The most alarming token of this, as far as Great Britain was concerned, was the rapid building of a fleet, evidently planned to rival her own. So, since the supremacy of the sea was a necessity to her very existence as a nation, a change of policy was practically forced upon her. Instead of relying upon an alliance with Germany, Britain made a "Triple Entente" with Russia and France, the two countries of Europe who were always most ready to attack the German Empire.

Slowly but surely during the latter years of the reign of Edward VII., and still more ominously during the reign of King George V., the storm clouds began to lower over Europe. To Germany, as to Russia, the gateway of the East, the control of the Straits of Constantinople, which secured the outlet to the Mediterranean as well as the highway to Asia Minor, was indispensable to her dreams of European supremacy. For by the will of the Sultan, Russia could be shut out from Mediterranean trade or forced to sail from Baltic ports that are frozen part of the year, round western coasts of Europe and so through the Strait of Gibraltar—an impossibly roundabout course. To Germany, on the other hand, the control of the Straits opened to her all the economic advantages of Asia Minor. With a railway linking Bagdad with Berlin, the rich and undeveloped country would lie at the feet of the German capitalists.

Blocking the way of this important railroad, however, lay Serbia, an independent and hostile little nation, and when once Germany had got a firm hold upon Turkey by her reorganization of the Turkish army on German military lines, she was ready to sweep Serbia from her path.

This was the most easily distinguished cause of a war which arose out of a huge mass of entangled and conflicting motives,

and which gradually involved the whole world in its toils. For with Great Britain rose an Empire in arms. From East to West, North to South, the torch of war was hastily carried. In the Pacific, the naval forces of Australia and New Zealand swept Germany from her islands of New Guinea and Oceania, and Japan seized her port of Kiao-Chau in the first year of the War. In African Togoland and the Cameroons, in Mesopotamia and the sites of the ancient empires of the world, in Egypt and the Holy Land, where a new Crusade was victoriously fought, armies of every race fought and died, struggled and lived, to "make the world safe for democracy." From the New World of America, from Cuba and Panama, Brazil and Siam, Liberia and China, the troops poured in, never hesitating to shed their blood in a just cause.

Of Britain's allies, Russia, the most eager of all to strike the first blow, fell out from the fight after the Revolution of 1917, which set up a socialistic State under a dictator in place of the rule of the Tsar. The downfall and murder of the whole Russian royal family took place in the midst of a terrible internal conflict between the many different races of which the country was composed. Nothing more was to be hoped for from the Russian alliance. Yet on the Feast of St. Martin, in the year 1918, Germany, beaten to her knees by the indomitable courage of a devastated France and by the bull-dog obstinacy of a Britain who "never knew when she was beaten," was forced to sue for peace.

Peace came during the year 1919, but from military conflict alone.

For the War had left behind it a terrible legacy of pressing social problems, and an atmosphere of suspicion and restlessness that is very far from the old Catholic ideal of the Brotherhood of Man; and there are some amongst us, wise men and seers, who say that these problems can never be solved in any satisfactory manner till this country, whose fortunes we have followed for twenty centuries, looks for guidance to the great Universal Church of Christendom, from whom, three centuries ago, she turned away.

EXERCISES

1. Mark the steps that led to the rise of "Democracy."
2. Explain the change in the foreign policy of Britain in the twentieth century.

CHIEF EVENTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER
1815–1902

1819. Manchester Massacre.
1820. Accession of George IV.
1822. Peel Home Secretary.
1823. Irish agitation for Catholic Emancipation.
1827. Canning Prime Minister.
1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.
1830. Accession of William IV.
1832. Reform Act.
1833. First Factory Act.
Abolition of Slavery in British Dominions.
1834. Poor Law Amendment Act.
Melbourne Prime Minister.
1837. Accession of Queen Victoria.
1838. " People's Charter " drawn up.
1842. Afghan War.
1844. Natal declared a British Colony.
Irish famine year.
1846. Repeal of Corn Laws.
1847. Irish Coercion Bill.
First grant for Education.
1851. Great Exhibition.
1854. Outbreak of Crimean War. Battles of the *Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman;* Siege of *Sebastopol.*
1856. Treaty of Paris.
1857. War with China.
Indian Mutiny. Relief of Lucknow.
1858. Government of India transferred to Crown.
1859. Palmerston Prime Minister.
1852. *Alabama* incident.
1867. *Dominion of Canada* Act.
Disraeli's Reform Act.
1868. Disraeli Prime Minister.
Gladstone Prime Minister (December).
1870. Irish Land Act.
Forster's Education Act.
1877. Transvaal annexed.
1879. Zulu War.
Afghan War. Transvaal rising.
1881. Battle of *Majuba.* Annexation of Transvaal cancelled.
1882. British control in Egypt.
1883. The Soudan War.
1884. Franchise Act.
1885. Fall of Khartoum.
1887. Irish Land Act.
1891. Free Education Act.
1895. The Jameson Raid.
1897. Workmen's Compensation Act.
1899. Boer War begins.
1900. Capture of Pretoria.
1901. Accession of Edward VII.
1902. End of Boer War.

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